THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

King CHARLES the Second;

FROM THE

RESTORATION

To the End of the YEAR 1667.

WRITTEN BY

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH-CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND.

Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

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EDWARD EARL of CLARENDON,

KEST AVLION

KING CHARLES the second

HISTORY

REFLECTIONS.

THE king was infinitely troubled at the ill ſucceſs of this bill, which he had been aſſured would paſs notwithſtanding the oppoſition that was expected; and it had produced one effect, that was foreſeen, though not believed, in renewing the bitterneſs againſt the Roman Catholicks. And they, who watched all occaſions to perform thoſe offices, had now a large field to expreſs their malice againſt the chancellor and the treaſurer, whoſe pride only had diſpoſed them to ſhew their power and credit in diverting the houſe from gratifying the king, to which they had been inclined, and his majeſty heard all that could be ſaid againſt them, without any diſlike. After two or three days he ſent for them both together into his cloſet, which made it generally believed in the court,

that he reſolved to take both their offices from them, and they did in truth believe and expect, but there was never any cauſe appeared after to think that it was in his purpoſe. He ſpake to them of other buſineſs without taking the leaſt notice of the other matter, and diſmiſſed them with a countenance leſs open, than he uſed to have towards them, and made it evident that he had not the ſame thoughts of them he had formerly. And when the next day the chancellor went to him alone and was admitted into his cabinet, and begun to take notice that he ſeemed to have diſſatisfaction in his looks towards him, the king in more choler than he had ever before ſeen him, told him his looks were ſuch as they ought to be, that he was very much unſatisfied with him, and thought he had uſed him very ill, that he had deſerved better of him, and did not expect that he would have carried himſelf in that manner as he had done in the houſe of peers, having known his majeſty's own opinion from himſelf, which it ſeemed was of no authority with him, if it differed from his judgment, to which he would not ſubmit againſt his reaſon. The other with the confidence of an honeſt man entered upon the diſcourſe of the matter, aſſured him the very propoſing it had done his majeſty much prejudice, and that they, who were beſt affected to his ſervice in both houſes, were much troubled and afflicted with it: and of thoſe who adviſed him to it, one knew nothing of the conſtitution of England, and was not thought to wiſh well to the religion of it; and the other was ſo well known to him, that nothing was more wonderful, than that his majeſty ſhould take him for a ſafe councellor. He had recourſe then again to the matter, and uſed ſome arguments againſt it which had not been urged before, and which ſeemed to make impreſſion.

preſſion. He heard all he ſaid with patience, but ſeemed not to change his mind, and anſwered no more than that it was no time to ſpeak to the matter, which was now paſſed: and if it had been unſeaſonably urged he might ſtill have carried himſelf otherwiſe than he had done, and ſo ſpake of ſomewhat elſe. His majeſty did not withdraw any of his truſt or confidence from him in his buſineſs, and ſeemed to have the ſame kindneſs for him, but from that time he never had the ſame credit with him as he had before. The lord Aſhley got no ground, but Sir H. Bennett very much, who, tho' he ſpake very little in council ſhew'd his power out of it, by perſuading his majeſty to recede from many reſolutions he had taken there. And, afterwards in all the debates in council, which were very preparatory to the war, and upon thoſe particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the juſtice and policy that was to be obſerved. Whatſoever was offered by the chancellor or treaſurer, was never conſidered, it was anſwer enough that they were enemies to the war: which was true, as long as it was in deliberation, but from the time it was reſolved and remedileſs, none of them who promoted it, contributed any thing to the carrying it on, proportionably to what was done by the other two. There was another and a greater miſchief, than hath been mentioned, that reſulted from that unhappy debate; which was the prejudice and diſadvantage that the biſhops underwent by their ſo unanimous diſlike of that bill: for from that time the king never treated any of them with that reſpect as he had done formerly, and often ſpake of them too ſlightly; which eaſily encouraged others not only to mention their perſons very negligently, but their function and religion itſelf, as an invention to impoſe upon the free

judgments and underſtandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and ſermons vilified, as laboured diſcourſes, which the preachers made only to ſhew their own parts and wit, without any other deſign than to be commended and preferred. Theſe grew to be the ſubject of the mirth and wit of the court; and ſo much licenſe manifeſted in it, that gave infinite ſcandal to thoſe who obſerved it: and to thoſe who received and believed the reports of it; and all ſerious and prudent men took it as an illpreſage, that, whilſt all warlike preparations were made in abundance ſuitable to the occaſion, there ſhould be ſo little preparation of ſpirit for a war againſt an enemy, who might poſſibly be without ſome of our virtues, but aſſuredly was without any of our vices.

There began now to appear another enemy, much more formidable than the Dutch, and more difficult to be ſtruggled with, which was the plague, that broke out in the winter, and made ſuch an early progreſs in the ſpring, that though the weekly numbers did not riſe high, and appear'd to be only in the out-skirts of the town and in the moſt obſcure allies, amongſt the pooreſt people, yet the antient men, who well remember'd in what manner the laſt great plague (which had been near forty years before) firſt broke out, and the progreſs it afterwards made, foretold a terrible ſummer, and many of them removed their families out of the city to country habitations, when their neighbours laughed at their providence, and thought they might have ſtay'd without danger. But they found ſhortly that they had done wiſely. In March it ſpread ſo much that the parliament was very willing to part, which was likewiſe the more neceſſary, in regard that ſo many of the members

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of the houſe of commons were aſſigned to ſo many offices and employments which related to the war, and which required their immediate attendance. For though the fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many prizes daily brought in, beſides the firſt ſeizure, which by this time was adjudged lawful prize, in all which great loſs was ſuſtained by the licenſe of officers as well as common men, and the abſence of ſuch as ſhould reſtrain and puniſh it. So that as ſoon as the bill was paſſed the houſes for the good aid they had given the king, and was ready for the royal aſſent, his majeſty paſſed it, and prorogued the parliament in April (which was in 65) till September following, his majeſty declaring, that if it pleaſed God to extinguiſh or allay the fierceneſs of the plague, which at that time raged more, he ſhould be glad to meet them then, by which time they ſhould have notice by proclamation, that they might not hazard themſelves. The parliament being thus prorogued, there was the ſame reaſon to haſten out the fleet, towards which the duke left nothing undone, which his unwearied induſtry and example could contribute towards, being himſelf on board, and having got all things neceſſary into his own ſhip that he cared for: but he found that it was abſolutely requiſite to put out to ſea, tho' many things were wanting in other ſhips, even of beer, and other proviſion of victuals; not only to be before the enemy, but he ſaw it would be impoſſible, whilſt the ſhips were in port, to keep the ſeamen from going on ſhore, by which they might bring the plague on board with him, and there was already a ſuſpicion, that the infection was got into one of the ſmaller ſhips. It hath been ſaid before that all things relating to the fleet, were upon the matter wholly governed by Mr. Coventry. It is very true that the officers of the navy conſtantly attended

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the duke together with thoſe three ſea captains, who have been named before: but, from the time the war was declared his highneſs conſulted daily, for his own information and inſtruction, with Sir John Lawſon, Sir George Askew, Sir William Penn, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in ſeveral battles. Upon the advice of theſe men the duke always made his eſtimates and all propoſitions to the king. There was ſomewhat of rivalſhip between the two laſt, becauſe they had been in equal command, therefore the duke took Sir William Penn into his own ſhip, and made him captain of it, which was a great truſt, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke: and ſo extinguiſhed the other emulation, the other two being flag-officers and to command ſeveral ſquadrons. In all conferences with theſe men Mr. Coventry's preſence and attendance was neceſſary; both to reduce all things into writing which were agreed upon: and to be able to put the duke in mind of what he was to do. Lawſon was the man, of whoſe judgment the duke had the beſt eſteem, and he was in truth of a man of that breeding (for he was a perfect tarpauling) a very extraordinary perſon: he underſtood his profeſſion incomparably well, ſpake clearly, and pertinently, but not pertinaciouſly enough, when he was contradicted. Askew was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his underſtanding, if it had been ever ſharp; he was of few words, yet ſpake to the purpoſe, and to be eaſily underſtood. Penn, who had much the worſt underſtanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to ſpeak like a gentleman: he had got many good words, which he us'd at adventure; he was a formal man, and ſpake very leaſurely, but much, and

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left the matter more intricate and perplex'd than he found it. He was intirely governed by Mr. Coventry, who ſtill learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally in the debate; or to croſs what was not agreeable to his own fancy: by which he was ſtill ſway'd out of the pride and perverſeneſs of his will. Upon debate and conference with theſe men the duke brought propoſitions to the king, reduced into writing by Mr. Coventry; and the king commonly conſulted them with the lord treaſurer in their preſence: the propoſitions being commonly for the increaſe of the expence, which Mr. Coventry was ſolicitous by all the ways poſſible to contrive. To theſe conſultations the duke always brought the ſea-officers and Mr. Coventry, who ſpake much more than they, to explain eſpecially what Sir William Penn ſaid, who took upon himſelf to ſpeak moſt, and often what the others had never thought, tho' durſt not contradict: and Sir John Lawſon often complained, that Mr. Coventry put that in writing which had never been propoſed by them, and would continue diſputing it, till they yielded. Every conference raiſed the charge very much: and what they propoſed yeſterday as enough, was to-day made twice as much. If they propoſed ſix fireſhips to be provided, within two or three days they demanded twelve. So there could be no poſſible computation of the charge. By this means the fleet, that was now ready to put to ſea, amounted to four-ſcore ſail, and the king willingly conſented upon the reaſons the duke preſented to him, that they ſhould ſet ſail as ſoon as was poſſible: and before the end of April the duke was with the whole fleet at ſea, and viſited the coaſt of Holland, and took many ſhips in their view, their fleet being not yet in readineſs. Many noblemen, the earl of Peterborough,

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the ſord viſcount Ferrers, and others, with many gentlemen of quality went as volunteers, and were diſtributed into the ſeveral ſhips with much countenance by the duke: and as many taken into his own ſhip as could be done with conveniency. The duke of Buckingham had, from the firſt mention of the war, which he promoted all he could, declared that he would make one in it: and when it was declared, he deſired to have the command of a ſhip, which the duke poſitively denied to give him, except the king commanded it: and his majeſty was content to refer that, as he did the nomination of all the other officers, to his brother, and did not think fit that a man, of what quality ſoever, who had never been at ſea, ſhould his firſt voyage have the command of any conſiderable ſhip; and a ſmall one had not been for his honour, at which he was much troubled. Yet his friends told him that he was too far engaged to ſtay at home, when his royal highneſs ventured his own perſon: and thereupon he reſolved to go a volunteer, and put himſelf on board a flag-ſhip, the captain whereof was in his favour; and then he deſired that in reſpect of his quality, and being a privy-councellor, he might be preſent in all councils of war. The duke thought this not reaſonable, and would not make a new precedent. There were many of the antient nobility, earls and barons, who were then on board as volunteers, and if the conſideration of quality might intitle them to be preſent in council, all orders would be broken, there being none called but flag-officers: and therefore his royal highneſs poſſitively refuſed to gratify him in that point which the duke of Buckingham thought (it being enough that the duke had neither eſteem or kindneſs for him) to be ſuch a perſonal diſobligation, that would well excuſe him for declining

declining the enterprize, and pretending that he did appeal to the king in point of right, he left the fleet, and returned to the ſhore to complain: and we return back to the view of other particulars.

There were two perſons whom the king and his brother did deſire to make remarkable by ſome extraordinary favours, one of which was equally grateful to both. Sir Charles Berkeley, who had been lately created an Iriſh viſcount, by the name of lord Fitzharding, the old and true ſirname of the family, upon whom the king had, for reaſons only known to himſelf, ſet his affection ſo much, that he had never denied any thing he asked for himſelf or for any body elſe, and was well content that he ſhould be looked upon as his favourite. He had been long thought ſo to the duke, who was willing to promote any thing to his advantage, and the king had deferred theſe inſtances only till the parliament ſhould be prorogued, leſt it ſhould raiſe the appetites of others to make ſuits which he had hitherto defended himſelf from, by declaring he would make no more lords: but the parliament was no ſooner prorogued, than it was reſolved to be put in execution; and when it was to be done, the chancellor had the honour to be preſent alone with the king and the duke, when it ſeemed to be firſt thought of: and when the duke propoſed it as a ſuit to the king, that he would make the lord Fitzharding an earl, extolling his courage and affection to the king, who was pleaſed with the motion to that degree, that he extolled him with praiſes which could be applied to few men; and it was quickly reſolved that he ſhould be an earl of England, and a title was ſoon found out, and ſo he was created earl of Falmouth, before he had one foot of land in the world. And, to gratify the king for this favour, the duke likewiſe

propoſed that the king would make Harry Bennett a lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for, which was as willingly granted; and he had no more eſtate than the other, and could not ſo eaſily find a title for his barony. But becauſe he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his firſt warrant was to be created Cheyne: which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the leaſt relation; and for ſome days upon the ſigning the warrant he was called lord Cheyne, until a gentleman of the beſt quality in Buckinghamſhire, who, tho' he had no title to the barony, was yet of the ſame family, and inherited moſt part of the eſtate, which was very conſiderable, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Newcaſtle, heard of it, and made haſte to ſtop it: he went firſt to Sir Harry Bennett himſelf, and deſired him not to affect a title to which he had no relation; and to which, tho' he could not pretend of direct right, yet he was not ſo obſcure, but that himſelf, or a ſon of his, might hereafter be thought worthy of it by the crown: and in that reſpect it would be ſome trouble to him to ſee it veſted in the family of a ſtranger. The ſecretary did not give him ſo civil an anſwer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman; yet ſhortly after, upon information of his condition and quality (as he was in all reſpects very worthy of conſideration) the patent being not yet prepared, he was content to take the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father, and was ſold by him, and now in poſſeſſion of another private perſon, and ſo was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge. The king took the occaſion to make theſe two noblemen, from an obligation that lay upon him to confer two honours at the ſame time;

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the one upon Mr. Frechville, a very antient family in Derbyſhire, and a fair eſtate, who had been always bred in the court, a menial ſervant of the laſt king, and had ſerved him in the head of a troop of horſe, raiſed at his own charge, in the war, and whom his late majeſty had promiſed to make a baron. The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, a gentleman as well known by what he had done and ſuffered in the late time, as by the eminency of his family and the fortune he was ſtill maſter of, after the great depredation of the time. John Arundel his father was of the beſt intereſt and eſtate of the gentlemen of Cornwall; and, in the beginning of the troubles, when the lord Hopton and the other gentlemen with him were forced to retire into Cornwall, he and his friends ſupported them, and gave the firſt turn and oppoſition to the current of the parliament's uſurpation, and to them, their courage and activity, all the ſucceſs that the lord Hopton had afterwards, was juſtly to be imputed as to the firſt riſe. The old gentleman was then above ſeventy years of age, and infirm, but all his ſons he ingaged in the war. The two eldeſt were eminent officers, both members of the houſe of commons, and the more zealous ſoldiers, by having been witneſſes of the haughty proceedings of thoſe who had raiſed the rebellion. The eldeſt was killed in the head of his troop, charging and driving back a bold ſally that was made out of Plymouth when it was beſieged, and this other gentleman of whom we now ſpeak, and who was then the younger brother, was an excellent colonel of foot to the end of the war. When Sir Nicholas Slaning, who was governor of Pendennis, loſt his life bravely in the ſiege of Briſtol, the king knew not into what hands to commit that important place, ſo ſecurely as by ſending a commiſſion to old John Arundel of Trerice

to command, well knowing, that it muſt be preſerved principally by his intereſt, and in reſpect of his age, joined his eldeſt ſon with him, and after his death he added the younger brother to the command, of whom we are now ſpeaking, who was in truth then looked upon, as the moſt powerful perſon in that county. When the king, then prince, was compelled, after almoſt all the Weſt was loſt, to retire into Cornwall, he remained in Pendennis caſtle, and from thence made his firſt imbarkation to Silly, and at parting, out of a princely ſenſe of the affection and ſervice of that family, he took the old gentleman aſide, and in the preſence of his ſon wiſh'd him to defend the place as long as he could, becauſe relief might come, of which there was ſome hope from abroad, and promiſed him, if he lived to come back into England, he would make him a baron, and if he were dead, he would make it good to his ſon. The old man behaved himſelf bravely to his death, having all his eſtate taken from him, and his ſon remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep marks of it, as any man: ſo that at the king's return, who never forgot his promiſe, he might have received the effect of it in the firſt creation, if he had deſired it; but he choſe rather to recover the bruiſes his fortune had endured by ſeizures and ſequeſtrations, before he would embark himſelf in a condition, that muſt preſently raiſe his expence in his way of living: and as ſoon as he found himſelf at eaſe in that reſpect, he got a friend to inform the king, that he was ready to receive his bounty; and his majeſty being under thoſe two obligations was willing to take the ſame opportunity to prefer the two other perſons he loved ſo well; but at the ſame time he declared his reſolution for the laſt two, but what concerned the others had been long known and expected. His majeſty reflected upon the number of the houſe of peers,

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which was in many reſpects found grievous, and declared to his brother and the chancellor who were only preſent, that no importunity ſhould prevail with him to make any more lords in many years, and till the preſent number ſhould be leſſen'd, in which reſolution the duke willingly concurr'd, and proteſted that he would never more importune him in that point. The reaſon of mentioning this declaration and reſolution will appear hereafter. This creation was no ſooner over, than the new earl of Falmouth went with the duke to ſea, for tho' his relation was now immediately to the king, and near his perſon, yet he thought himſelf obliged not to be from the duke, when he was to be engaged in ſo much danger, and he was confeſſed by all men to abound in a moſt fearleſs courage.

It will not be unſeaſonable in this place to take a view of an act of ſtate, that paſſed about this time, and afterwards adminiſtered matter of reproach againſt the chancellor, and was made uſe of by his enemies as an evidence of his corruption. For the better underſtanding whereof, it will be neceſſary to begin the relation from the original ground of the council. About the firſt Chriſtmas after the king's happy return into England, the chancellor, treaſurer, privy-ſeal, and the two chief juſtices (being the perſons appointed by the ſtatute for that purpoſe) met together to ſet the prices upon the ſeveral ſorts of wines, and were attended according to cuſtom by the company of vintners, and the chief merchants of the city, who traded in that commodity: and being firſt to limit the merchants to a reaſonable rate, before they could preſcribe any price to the vintners upon the retail; they found by the beſt enquiry they could make, that the firſt prices beyond ſea, which the merchants paid for their wines were ſo exceſſive, that the retail could not be brought within,

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any compaſs; and that ſince the beginning of the troubles the price of wines in general was exceedingly encreaſed, and particularly that of the Canary was almoſt the double to what it had been in the 1640. The chancellor knew very well by the correſpondence he had held in the Canaries (during the time that he had ſerved his majeſty as his embaſſador in Spain) that the whole trade for the Canary wine was driven ſolely by the Engliſh and the commodity entirely vented in the king's dominions, all chriſtendom, beſides not ſpending any quantity of that wine; and thereupon he asked the merchants, whether what he had reported was not true, and what would be the way to remedy that miſchief. They all confeſſed it to be very true, and that it was a great reproach to the nation to be ſo much impoſed upon in a trade that they might govern themſelves, and that the unreaſonable prices of the wine was not the greateſt prejudice that had be fallen that trade: that before the troubles they had been ſo far from employing any ſtock of money for the ſupport of that traffick, that they uſed to ſend their ſhips fully laden with all commodities thither, which yielded very good markets, being ſent from thence into the Weſt-indies with the plate-fleets, and that the very pipe-ſtaves, which they carried, did very near ſupply the value of their wine, ſo that they brought home the proceed of their commodities either in pieces of eight or ſuch other merchandize as had been brought thither from the Indies, and upon which they received great profit: on the contrary, that the trade was now wholly driven by ready money, that the commodities they ſend thither are not taken off except at their own prices; ſo that they have for the late years ſent their veſſels empty thither, except only with ſome few pipe-ſtaves, which by the deſtruction in Ireland they could not ſend in any great

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proportion, and that their ſhips return from thence with no other lading but thoſe wines, which they trade for in ready money either by pieces of eight ſent in their ſhips from hence, or by bills of exchange charged upon ſome known merchants in Spain. That, over and above thoſe diſadvantages, the Spaniards in thoſe iſlands had of late impoſed new duties upon the wine, and laid other impoſitions upon the merchants, than the Engliſh nation had been ever accuſtomed to. They ſaid all theſe inconveniencies proceeded from the immoderate appetite this nation hath for that ſort of wine, and therefore they take from them as much as they can make, and from our own diſorder and irregularity in buying them, and contending who ſhall get the moſt, and ſo raiſing the price one upon another, and making the Spaniards themſelves the judges what the merchants ſhall pay. The lords upon conſultation between themſelves found the matter too hard for them, and that the reformation of ſo much evil muſt be made by degrees, and upon a repreſentation of the whole, with the difficulties which attended it, to the king and his privy council, whoſe wiſdom only could provide a proper remedy proportionable to the miſchiefs. For the preſent, as they reſolved not to raiſe the prices at which wine was at that time bought and ſold (which they believed, how reaſonably ſoever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular) ſo they thought that it was not juſt to draw down and abaſe thoſe prices, ſince it appeared to them that the wines coſt more in proportion upon the places of their growth. They declared therefore to the merchants and to the vintners, that though for the preſent they would permit the ſame prices to continue for the next year which they had been ſold for the preſent year, and which indeed were confirmed by the late act of parliament, they ſhould hereafter take care, what

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markets they made, for they were reſolved the next year to make the prices much lower both to the merchant and to the vintner. And ſo upon the report made by the lords of the whole matter to the king in council, and of what they thought fit to be done for the preſent, a proclamation was publiſhed accordingly.

The next year both the merchants and vintners were very earneſt ſuitors to the lords at their accuſtomed meeting, that greater price might be allowed, or at leaſt that the ſame might be continued, making it very evident, that their wines coſt them more than they had done the year before. Upon the debate, the Canary merchants were much divided, ſome of them inſiſted very importunately to have the price raiſed, becauſe it was notorious that they had paid much more than formerly, by reaſon, as they alledged, that the vintage had not yielded near the proportion that it uſed to do: others, tho' confeſſing the encreaſe of price, yet pretended a more publick ſpirit, and the neceſſity of a reformation, and therefore they preſſed as earneſtly, that the price might not be raiſed, but that they might be permitted to take, what they had done already, for this year: it was quickly diſcovered, whence this moderation proceeded, and that the laſt propoſers had a great quantity of wine upon their hands, which had been provided the year before, and ſo might well be ſold at the ſame price, but that the former had no old wine left, but were ſupplied with a full proviſion of new, which had coſt them ſo much dearer. Both the one and the other deſired the lords that whatever reſolution thy took for the preſent, a clauſe might be inſerted in the proclamation, that the next year which followed, Canary wine ſhould not be ſold for above four and twenty pounds the pipe, and that every year after it ſhould be drawn lower, as it might well

be,

be, it having been ſold in the year 1640, for twenty pounds the pipe, tho' in the year, when his majeſty returned, it had been permitted to be ſold at ſix and thirty pounds the pipe; ſuch a clauſe, they ſaid, would give notice to the iſlanders, and oblige them to ſell their wines at more reaſonable rates, and would render the merchant inexcuſable if they ſhould give greater. Notwithſtanding all their allegations the lords remembered what they had declared to them the laſt year, which was as fair a warning as any thing they could now ſay would be: and accordingly they ſet lower prices upon all wines for the year to come, than had been allowed the laſt, as the moſt effectual warning for the future, which was thought a very rigorous proceeding; but being reported to the king's council, what they had done was allowed and confirmed, and his majeſty was well contented, that ſuch a clauſe, as they had propoſed, ſhould be inſerted in the proclamation, which was accordingly done.

The year following when the lords meet again according to cuſtom, which is, as hath been ſaid about Chriſtmas, they found not the leaſt reformation: on the contrary, that the Canary merchants had paid dearer than ever; which made them all more ſolicitous to have the price raiſed, and the vintners importunate for their retail: and indeed the vintners ſeemed to be in a much worſe condition than the merchant, and they made it appear that they were often compelled to pay higher prices to the merchant than was impoſed by their lordſhips, without which they could get no good wine, and ſo muſt give overtheir keeping houſe: that the penalty upon the merchant was very ſmall, being not above forty ſhillings a pipe, and the crime not eaſy to be diſcovered, as was evident by there not having been one merchant queſtioned in many years for that common tranſgreſſion; whereas on the

vintners part the penalty was very ſevere, and eaſily diſcovered by any man, who went to a tavern, and would be an informer; and that moſt of the vintners in London were at that very time ſued in the exchequer upon thoſe very penalties, which if exacted, muſt produce their ruin. The merchants excuſed themſelves for their preſent pretence, and for having given more for their wines, than it was lawful for them to have, by their own deſire; that they had done their beſt; and that the greateſt traders among them had conſented between themſelves, not to ſuffer the prices to be raiſed upon them, but that they found it ineffectual; and that tho' they ſhould give over their trades, it would produce no reformation; that the trade was open to all adventurers; and that there had been many ſhips ſent from England in that very year by jews and people of ſeveral trades, who had never been before known to trade to the Canaries, in ſo much as when they who had been long bred up to the trade, and had been long factors in thoſe iſlands, ſent their ſhips thither, they found other Engliſh ſhips there, and the wines bought at a greater price than they had allowed their factors to give; ſo that they muſt either have their ſhips return empty and unladen, or taken the wines at the prices other men gave; that they had choſen the latter as well to continue their trade, as to draw home ſome part of the ſtock they had in that country: that they could imagine but two ways to reform that exceſs, the one, by putting the trade into ſuch a method, and under ſuch rules, as might reſtrain that licence; and not leave it in the power of perſons, who had never been in the trade, to give the law to it; and by this means the iſlanders would find it neceſſary to ſet reaſonable prices upon their commodities, and ſo yield ſuch other advantages and privileges to the mer-

chants, as they had heretofore enjoyed. The other, that the king would by his proclamation prohibit the importation of any Canary wines into his dominions; and thereby he would quickly receive such propositions from Spain, as would put it into his own power to make the reformation: otherwise the islanders had been persuaded that England could not live without their wines. The lords were resolved notwithstanding all that had been said, that they would execute the former proclamation, and reduce the prices of wines to what had been then determined; and after they had given a full account of the whole business to the king in council, the resolution was approved; and a proclamation was issued out to that purpose. The merchants and vinters applied themselves to his majesty and to many of the lords of the council, and thought they had encouragement enough to hope for a relief, in an appeal to the king and council by petition; and they had thereupon a day assigned to be heard. Many of the lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel men to sell cheaper than they bought, which was the truth of the case, and which must oblige both merchants and vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their wines, to preserve their estates, which might probably turn to the great damage of the whole kingdom, in producing sickness and diseases, and this charitable and generous consideration prevailed with the major part of the lords to be well contented; and to wish that some indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the king had well weighed the whole proceedings, and with trouble and indignation considered the obstinate vice of the nation, which made it ridiculous to all the world; he expressed a positive resolution to vindicate himself and his govern-

ment from this reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the prices, which had been reſolved upon by the lords would be the beſt preface to this reformation, tho' it might be attended with particular damage to particular perſons, who had yet leſs cauſe to complain, becauſe their own advice had been followed: and thereupon his majeſty declared that he would make no alteration: but withal told them, that if they could make any propoſition to him, for the better regulation of the trade, (for they had themſelves mentioned a charter) he would graciouſly receive any propoſitions they would make; and gratify them in what was juſt: and ſo notwithſtanding all attempts, which were often repeated, the price ſet by the lords was ratified for the year following.

Shortly after many of the merchants who had always traded to the Canaries, did petition the king that they might be incorporated; and that none might be permitted to trade thither, but ſuch who would be of that corporation, and obſerve the conſtitutions, which ſhould be made by them. Which petition was preſented to the king at the council board, and being read, his majeſty (according to his cuſtom in matters of difficulty, and publick concernment) directed it to be read again on that day month: at which time his majeſty preſumed that all, who would oppoſe it would preſent their reaſons and objections againſt it, which he deſired to hear. At the day appointed, tho' there was not a petition againſt it, yet it was obſerved, that there were many of the moſt eminent merchants of that trade, whoſe names were not to the petition, nor otherwiſe appeared deſirous to have a charter granted; which his majeſty conſidering he put

off the debate for another week, and directed that the other merchants by name ſhould be deſired to be preſent, and to give their advice freely upon the point: and there was at that day a very full appearance: when his majeſty directed that a relation ſhould be made to them of the whole progreſs that had been in the buſineſs, and the damage and diſhonour the nation underwent in the carrying on that trade; that many merchants had preſented a petition to him containing an expedient to bring it into better order; but finding them not to appear in it; and being informed that they were beſt acquainted with and moſt ingaged in that trade, he had ſent for them to know their opinion, whether they thought what was propoſed to be reaſonable, and fit to be granted; and if ſo, why they did not concern themſelves in it. They anſwered, that the reaſon why they had not appeared in it, was becauſe they thought they ſhould be loſers by it, and therefore were not ſolicitous to procure a grant from his majeſty to their own damage; and ſo enlarged upon the nature of the trade, their long experience in it, and the greatneſs of their ſtock, which they ſhould not be allowed to continue under any regulation. But as they did not think themſelves to be ſolicitous for a change, ſo they could not deny, being required by his majeſty to ſpeak the truth, but that the propoſition that was made, was for the publick good and benefit of the kingdom, and that they could conceive no other way to redeem that trade and the nation from the inſolence which the Spaniards exerciſed upon them, implying that, if his majeſty would command them, they would likewiſe concur and join in the carrying on the ſervice. To which his majeſty giving them gracious en-

encouragement, they all ſeem'd to depart of one mind, and his majeſty remained confirmed in the former opinion he had of it. But there remained yet an objection which was principally inſiſted on by the miniſters of the revenue, who alledged very reaſonably, that this new modelling the trade muſt produce ſome alteration, and would meet ſome oppoſition from the Spaniards, which for the time would leſſen the cuſtoms, and intitle the farmers to a defalcation. The petition was therefore referred to the farmers of the cuſtoms, who were to attend the next council day; and being then called they did acknowledge, that the deſign propoſed would prove very profitable to the kingdom in many reſpects, upon which they enlarged, and that the end would not be attended with any diminution of the cuſtoms; but for the preſent they ſaid they could not but expect but that the obſtinacy and contradiction of the Spaniards would give ſuch a ſtop to trade, at leaſt for one year, that if his majeſty did not reimburſe them for what ſhould fall ſhort in the receipt of cuſtom, they muſt look to be very great loſers. The merchants on the other hand offered to be bound, that if they did not the firſt year bring in as much as had been uſually entered, they would make good what ſhould be wanting to the farmers upon a medium. Whereupon his majeſty himſelf declared, that he would not for a ſmall damage to himſelf hinder the kingdom from enjoying ſo great a benefit: and he commanded his ſollicitor general, who then attended the board, to prepare ſuch a charter, as might provide for all thoſe good ends, which were deſired in the petition, and which had been ſo largely debated: and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater concurrence of the board in any direction,

Many

Many months paſſed before the charter was prepared: in which time there was never the leaſt new objection made againſt it; nor was it known, that any man was unſatisfied with it. After it was engroſſed and paſſed the king's hands, it was brought to the great ſeal, and there the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen had ordered a caveat to ſtop the paſſing of it. The chancellor according to courſe appointed a time when he would hear all parties. The city alledged an order made a year or two before by the king in council, upon a complaint then exhibited by the court of aldermen againſt the Turkey company, and other corporations, in which they ſaid there were very many merchants of the beſt trade, and of the greateſt eſtates in the city, who would never take out their freedom, and ſo refuſed to bear any charge or office in it, to the very great prejudice and diſhonour of the city and the government thereof; ſince they were thereby compelled to call inferior citizens to be aldermen, before they had eſtates to bear the charge of it; whilſt the greateſt and richeſt men, who were moſt fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, becauſe they were not freemen. The perſons concerned, which were indeed a great number of very valuable and ſubſtantial men and of great eſtates, anſwered, that they had traded very many years without finding any reaſon to take out their freedom, which they might do or not do as they thought beſt for themſelves: that they had paid ſcot and lot in the ſeveral pariſhes where they lived, with the higheſt of the inhabitants; and were taxed the more becauſe they had not taken out their freedom, they who taxed them, being always freemen: that they were grown old now, and had no mind to become young freemen, but would rather give over their trade, and retire into the country, where they had eſtates. Beſides the rules,

which

which the king gave upon the difference then in queſtion, he was pleaſed to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an order in the council-book, that care ſhould be taken that in all charters, which he ſhould hereafter renew, or grant to any companies or corporations in the city of London, that they ſhould firſt make themſelves freemen of the city, by which they might be liable to the charges of it, as other citizens are. They ſaid, that there were many of this company, that was now to be incorporated, who were not freemen, and therefore the lord-mayor and court of aldermen deſired the benefit of the king's order, which was read. The merchants confeſs'd that many of them were not freemen, and reſolved not to be. They ſaid they had never heard of this order, and were ſorry that they had ſpent ſo much money to no purpoſe. The chancellor declared to them, that he could not ſeal the charter, till they had comply'd with the king's determination, and given the court of aldermen ſatisfaction: and they ſeemed as poſitive, that they would rather be without the charter, than they would ſubmit to the other inconveniencies, and ſo they departed. But after ſome days deliberation and conſultation between themſelves; and, when they found there was no poſſibility to procure a diſpenſation for that order, they treated with the city, and agreed with them in the preparing a clauſe to be inſerted in their charter, and by which they were obliged in ſo many years to become freemen. Which clauſe being approved by all parties, was, in the king's preſence, entered in the bill that his majeſty had ſigned, and being afterwards added to the ingroſſment, it was again thus reformed, and ſent to the great ſeal, and preſented to the chancellor to be ſealed.

There

There were by this time ſeveral new caveats entered againſt it at the ſeals, all which the chancellor heard, and ſettled every one of them to the joint ſatisfaction of all parties, and all caveats were withdrawn. There was then a rumour, that there would be ſome motion made againſt it in the houſe of commons, and ſome parliament-men who ſerved for the Weſtern boroughs came to the chancellor, and deſired him, that he would defer the ſealing it for ſome days, till they might be heard, ſince it would undoe the Weſtern trade; and they ſaid, they reſolved to move the houſe of commons to put a ſtop to it. The chancellor informed them of the whole progreſs it had paſſed, and told them he believed, that they would hardly be able to offer any good reaſons againſt it. However ſince it was then well known that the parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve days, he ſaid he would ſuſpend the ſealing it till then, to the end that they might offer any objections againſt it there or any where elſe. But tho' the parliament ſat longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no mention or notice taken of it, and after the prorogation no application was further made for the ſtopping it, and the merchants preſſed very importunately that it might be ſealed alledging with reaſon that the deferring it ſo long had been very much to their prejudice: whereupon the chancellor conceived that it would not conſiſt with his duty to delay it longer; and ſo affixed the great ſeal to it. The company then choſe a governor and other officers according to their charter, and made ſuch orders and bye-laws as they thought fit for the carrying and advancement of their trade; which they might alter, when they thought convenient, and for the preſent they reſolved upon a joint ſtock, and aſſigned ſo

many ſhares to each particular man. In this compoſition and diſtribution there fell out ſome difference between themſelves, which could not be taken notice of abroad, and even ſome of them, who firſt petitioned, and were moſt ſolicitous to procure the charter, did what they could to hinder the effect of it; ſent privately to their factors at the Canaries to oppoſe any orders that ſhould be ſent from the governor and the company; and that they ſhould do all they could to incenſe the Spaniards againſt the charter; and bade them promiſe that all their wine ſhould be taken off in ſpite of the corporation. Whereupon great diſorders did ariſe in the Canaries between the Engliſh themſelves, and by the conjunction of the Spaniards with thoſe few Engliſh who oppoſed the charter; they proceeded ſo far as to ſend the principal factors from the company out of the iſland into Spain; and to make a publick act by the governor and council there, that no ſhip belonging to the company ſhould be ſuffered to come into the harbour, or to take in any lading from the iſlands; all which was tranſacted there many months before it was known in England, and probably would have been prevented, or eaſily reformed, if it had not pleaſed God that the plague at this time ſpread very much in London; and if the war with the Dutch had not reſtrained all Engliſh ſhips from going to the Canaries for the ſpace of a year. Which intermiſſion not to be prevented, nor in truth foreſeen, gave ſome advantage to the merchants at home, who oppoſed the charter, who complained for the not return of their ſeveral ſtocks within the time that the company had promiſed they ſhould be returned. I am not willing to reſume this diſcourſe in another place, which I ſhould be compelled to do, if I diſcontinue the relation

lation in this place, as in point of time I ſhould do, but I chuſe rather to inſert here what fell out afterwards, and to finiſh the account of that affair, that there may be no occaſion in the current of this narration to mention any particulars that related to it.

When the king was at Oxford, and was informed of what had paſſed at the Canaries, ſome merchants appeared there to petition againſt the charter, whereof there were ſome who were the firſt petitioners for it. His majeſty appointed a day for the ſolemn hearing of it in the preſence of his privy council, the governor being likewiſe ſummoned and preſent there. Upon opening all their grievances, the petitioners themſelves confeſſed, that they could not complain of the charter, that it was a juſt and neceſſary charter, and for the great benefit of the kingdom, tho' ſome private men might for the preſent be loſers by it. That their complaint was only againſt their conſtitutions and bye-laws, and the ſevere proſecution thereupon contrary to the intention of the charter itſelf, inſtancing among other things, the very ſhort day limited by the charter, after which they could not continue their trade, without being maſters of the corporations; and that day was ſo ſoon after ſealing the charter, that it was not poſſible for them to draw their ſtocks from thence in ſo ſhort a time. When they had finiſhed all their objections, the king obſerved to them, that they complained only of what themſelves had done, and not at all of the charter, which gave them only authority to chooſe a governor, and to make conſtitutions and bye-laws, but directed not what thoſe conſtitutions and bye-laws ſhould be, which were the reſult of their own conſtitutions, in which the major part muſt have concurred; and of that kind

the reſolution for a joint ſtock was one, which and all the reſt they might alter again at the next court, if the major part were grieved with it. But becauſe they had complained of ſome particulars, in which they might have reaſon on their ſide, his majeſty expreſſed a willingneſs to mediate and to make an agreement between them; and thereupon he required the governor to anſwer ſuch and ſuch particulars, which ſeemed to have moſt of juſtice; but the governor anſwered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that they had in truth no cauſe of complaint. As to the ſhort day that was aſſigned for the drawing away of their ſtocks, which had the greateſt ſemblance of all reaſon in all they complained of; he ſaid they had no reaſon to mention their want of warning, for that the day was well enough known to them long before the ſealing the charter, and might very well have been complied with. The reaſons, why the ſealing the charter was ſo long deferred, are ſat down before, and could be no reaſon to them to neglect the giving direction in their own concernments; but that they knew likewiſe that the day was enlarged to a day deſired by themſelves, that there might be no pretence for diſcontent, and thereupon the order of the court to that purpoſe was read to his majeſty and they could not deny it to be true. In concluſion, ſince it did appear that their ſtock did in truth ſtill remain in the Canaries, and in juſtice belong to them; whether it was their fault or their misfortune, that it had not been drawn over in time, the king perſuaded the governor and his aſſiſtants to give them ſuch ſatisfaction in that and other particulars, that before they retired from his majeſty's preſence, they were unanimouſly agreed upon all their pretences: and tho' ſome of the lords, upon ſome inſinuations and diſcourſes, which

they

they had heard, had believed the company to have been in the wrong, they were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the charter to be founded upon great reaſon of ſtate, and that the execution of it had been very juſtifiable, and with great moderation. And it is to be obſerved, that the parliament being then aſſembled at Oxford, there was not the leaſt complaint againſt that charter or corporation: and this was the whole progreſs of that affair, untill it ſerved ſome men's turns to make it afterwards matter of reproach to the chancellor, in a time when he had too great a weight of the king's diſpleaſure upon him to defend himſelf from that and other calumnies, which few men thought him guilty of: and if the motives of ſtates were not of weight enough to ſupport the patent, more ought not to be objected to him, than to every other counſellor, there having not been a more unanimous concurrence at that board in any advice they had given: and the delays he uſed in paſſing the charter, after it came to his hand, his giving ſo long time for the making objections againſt it, and his ſo poſitively oppoſing the company with reference to their being freemen of the city, are no ſigns that he had ſuch a mind to pleaſe them, as a man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a ſhare in the profit of the patent, as was afterwards ſuggeſted, but never believed by any, to whom he was in any degree known; who knew well that he frequently refuſed to receive money, that he might very lawfully have done, and never took a penny, which he was obliged to refuſe. He was indeed, as often as that affair came to be debated, very clear in his judgment for the king's granting it, and always continued of the ſame opinion, nor did he ever deny that ſome months after the patent was ſealed, the governor made him a preſent in the name of the corporation, as is preſumed

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he did to many other officers, through whose hands it paſſed; and which was never refuſed by any of his predeceſſors, when it came from a community upon the paſſing a charter, which he never concealed from the king, who thought he might well do it. In the laſt place it is to be remember'd, that after all the clamour againſt this charter in parliament, and upon the arguing againſt the legality of it by eminent lawyers, before the houſe of peers, it was ſo well ſupported by the king's attorney-general and other learned lawyers, that the lords would not give judgment againſt it, but the governor and the corporation durſt not diſpute it further with the houſe of commons, but choſe to ſurrender their charter into the king's hands.

The French had their ambaſſador Monſ. Cominges remaining ſtill in England, who pretended to be ready to finiſh ſtill the treaty of commerce, but formalized ſo much upon every article, though nothing was demanded but what had been granted to Cromwell, that it was concluded that he wanted power, though ſomewhat was imputed to the capriciouſneſs of his nature; which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the hours himſelf aſſigned, being hypocondriack, and ſeldom ſleeping without opium. As ſoon as the war was declared, the king of France ſent two other ambaſſadors, whereof, for the countenance and ſplendour of it, the duke of Verneule was one, who being uncle to both the kings, was received rather under that relation, than in the other capacity, and was lodged and treated by the king during the whole time of his ſtay. With him came likewiſe Monſ. Courtine, a maſter of requeſts, and much the quicker man of the three, and upon whoſe parts and addreſs moſt of the buſineſs depended. The former ambaſſador was joined in commiſſion with the other

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two: and their declared buſineſs was to mediate a peace between the king and the Dutch, when there had been yet little harm done, only great preparations made on both ſides for the war, which they did not ſeem very ſolicitous to interrupt; but contented themſelves with declaring, at their firſt audience, that the king their maſter, out of chriſtianity and to prevent the effuſion of chriſtian blood, deſired to mediate a peace; which the ſtates of the United Provinces were very willing he ſhould do; and profeſſed to have a very great deſire of peace; which made his Chriſtian majeſty hope that he ſhould find the ſame good inclinations here: and if he might be informed, what his majeſty did require, or what would be grateful to him, he did not doubt but that he ſhould perſuade the States to ſubmit to it. And, with this general diſcourſe, and without delivering any memorial in writing, the ambaſſadors acquieſced for many months, as if their buſineſs was only that the Dutch ambaſſador, who remained ſtill in London, might know, and ſend word to his maſters, that they had begun their mediation. Otherwiſe they ſeemed in all their diſcourſes to make ſome kind of apology for being ſent, implying as if the extraordinary importunity of the Dutch had prevailed with the king to undertake this mediation, and which he did the rather upon their promiſe that they would yield to any thing he ſhould adviſe them; and he was very far from deſiring that his majeſty might not receive ample ſatisfaction in whatſoever he required; ſo that the king did not imagine, whatever information he had received before, and whatever jealouſy he had entertained, that this embaſſy would be concluded in the denunciation of a war againſt him. Nor is it probable that the ambaſſadors themſelves at that time knew that they were to perform that office, tho'

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it was afterwards evident that the matter had been long before reſolved in France. They lived between the two courts, for the queen-mother was likewiſe at that time at her palace of Somerſet-houſe, in much jollity, and as vacant from any affairs, till they might receive new orders from court: but ſpending much time with the Dutch ambaſſador, whom they perſuaded that they were very intent upon and had much advanced the treaty, as appeared by the ambaſſador's letters to the Hague. The plague increaſed ſo faſt that the queen-mother, who had all the winter complained of her indiſpoſition of health, and declared that ſhe would in the ſummer go again into France, took that occaſion, albeit, ſhe was recovered to a very good ſtate, and about the end of July, removed and embarked for France, and took ſo many things with her, that it was thought by many, that ſhe did not intend ever to return into England: whatever her intentions at that time were, ſhe never did ſee England again, tho' ſhe lived many years after.

It was in April that the duke went to ſea, and from the day of his going thither, with the fleet, letters and orders came from him to the day of the battle for an addition of more ſhips, upon an intelligence of an increaſe of ſtrength added to the enemy; tho' they yet lay ſtill in the harbours, whilſt the duke was upon their coaſt: but Mr. Coventry ſtill made new demands, and wrote to the chancellor, that whilſt the king's brother was at ſea, and ventured his own perſon, no-body, who wiſhed him well, would for ſaving money, hinder any thing from being ſent, that his highneſs thought neceſſary for his defence, and all things were ſent tho' procured with wonderful difficulty. The treaſurer had believed, when all the proviſions were delivered, which had been demanded, and all computations ſatisfied,

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which had been made, and the fleet at ſea, that there would have been no more expence till its return; whereas every day added new expence, which had not been thought of, and the requiring of more ſhips was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the reſtleſs ſpirit of Mr Coventry, who cared not to encreaſe the expenſe, and was willing to put the treaſurer and all the king's miniſters to contend with all difficulties, that he might reproach their lazineſs or want of ability. But they did not gratifie him in that, but all the ſhips and whatever elſe was ſent for, were ſent, in ſo much as the fleet amounted to no leſs than one hundred ſail, and was now retired for want of ſome what to do, to our own coaſt, where they reſolved to attend the motion of the enemy: and in this time moſt of the volunteers having endured the unpleaſantneſs of the ſea above a month began to think that the war was not ſo neceſſary, as they had thought it to be. The duke's family, that was numerous in his own ſhips, were not at eaſe, and found leſs reſpect from the ſeamen than they looked for; for they grew into factions between themſelves, and the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Coventry were rivals, who ſhould have moſt intereſt in the duke, who loved the earl beſt, but thought the other the wiſer man; who ſupported Penn (who diſobliged all the courtiers) even againſt the earl, who contemned Penn, as a fellow of no ſenſe, and not worthy of the charge and truſt that was repoſed in him. In this diſcompoſure and having nothing to do, every body grew angry at the occaſion that brought them thither, and wiſhed for peace.

The earl of Falmouth, as in a time of leiſure, was ſent by the duke with complements to the king, and to give him an account of the good ſtate of the fleet. He viſited the chancellor, to whom he had always paid great reſpect,

and made many profeſſions, and he told him, that they were all mad, who had wiſhed this war, and that himſelf had been made a fool to contribute to it; but that his eyes were open, and a month's experience at ſea had enough informed him of the great hazard the king run in it; he reproached Penn as a ſot, and a fellow he thought would be found without courage; he told him, that, the king and the duke too were both inclined to peace, and diſcerned that the charge and expence of the war would be inſupportable; and concluded, that as ſoon as this action ſhould be over, which could not be avoided many days, if the Dutch fleet put to ſea, as it could not be doubted it would, it would be good a time to make a peace, which he deſired him to think of, and to ſpeak with the king, whom he would find diſpoſed to it, and ſo he returned to the fleet: and by that time the Dutch were come out, and the next day were in view. They were near of equal number, and well manned under the command of Opdam the admiral of the whole fleet, upon whom the States had conferred that charge, that the prince of Orange's party might conclude, that he ſhould never have the charges of his father and grand-father; and likewiſe to gratifie the nobility of Holland, that had a very ſmall ſhare in the government, and this gentleman, who had never been at ſea before, and had but a ſmall fortune, was of that number, and had joined with the faction, which was averſe from the family of Orange. The fleets came within ſight of each other on the firſt of June, and ſome ſkirmiſhes which continued on the ſecond, began the wind favouring neither party, as willing to keep them aſunder. But upon the third it ſerved both their turns, and brought them as near each other, as they could deſire to be, nor did the Dutch ſeem to advance with leſs

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courage and reſolution. Opdam with his ſquadron bore directly upon the duke with a reſolution to board him, but before he came near enough and very little before, whether by an accident within his own ſhip, or from a granado or other ſhot out of the duke's ſhip, his gun-room took fire, and in a moment the ſhip ſunk without a man being ſaved. The vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, being a zelander, purſued the ſame reſolution, and had boarded the duke, if captain Jeremy Smith, a captain of the duke's ſquadron had not put himſelf between, and boarded the vice-admiral, who was equally attacked by the duke; and ſo that ſhip was taken, after moſt of the men were killed: and the captain himſelf was ſo wounded, that he only lived to be brought on board the duke's ſhip, and to complain of his companions for not having ſeconded him according to an oath they had taken on board the admiral the day before, and died within half an hour to the great trouble of the duke, who gave him a great teſtimony for a very gallant man, and much deſired to preſerve him. The fight continued all the day with very great loſs of men on both ſides, tho' after the firſt two hours, the Dutch ſeeing many of their beſt ſhips burnt, and more taken, did all, that the wind would give them leave to ſeparate themſelves from the Engliſh fleet, which purſued them ſo cloſe, that they found they loſt more by flying than by fighting, and did leſſen their ſails to give ſome ſtop to the purſuit, till the night might favour them: and the evening no ſooner came, but they hoiſted up all their ſails, and intended nothing but their eſcape. When there was no more to be done by the approach of the night, the duke who was infinitely fatigue with the labour of the day, having loſt above two hundred men on board

his own ſhip, whereof ſome perſons of quality, who ſtood next his own perſon, and ſhall be named anon, was prevailed with to repoſe himſelf, after he had taken ſome ſuſtance: which he did, after he had given the maſter of the ſhip, an honeſt and a ſkilful man, direct and poſitive charge to bear up in that manner upon the Dutch fleet, that he might loſe no ground, but find himſelf as near when the day ſhould appear, as he was then, when he went to ſleep. The fleet had no guide but the lanthorn of the Admiral, and were not to outſail him of courſe, and behaved themſelves accordingly. But when the duke aroſe, and the day appeared, the Dutch fleet was out of view; and before he could reach them, they were got into their ports, or under the ſhelter of their flats, that it was not counſellable for the great ſhips to purſue them farther. Yet ſome of thoſe ſhips, which made not ſo much way, or had not ſteered ſo directly, were taken by the leſſer ſhips, that followed them, and the duke had received ſo many blows on his own and the other ſhips, that it was neceſſary to retire in port, where they might be repaired.

It was a day of ſignal triumph, the action of it having much ſurpaſſed all that was done in Cromwell's time, whoſe navies were much greater than had ever been in any age, but the Dutch had never then fought with ſo much courage and reſolution, nor were their ſhips then in ſtrength to be compared to England, as van Trumpe aſſured them, and that except they built better ſhips, they would be as often beaten, as they fought with the Engliſh: and from that time they new built all their navy, and brought with them now as good ſhips as any the king had, and the men for ſome hours behaved themſelves well. In that day the duke ſunk, burnt and took eighteen good

ſhips of war, whereof half were of the beſt they had, with the loſs of one ſingle ſmall ſhip, for there was no more miſſing of his whole fleet. It is true, the number of the killed and wounded men was very great, and was thought the greater, becauſe in the great maſſacre that was on the other ſide, there was no man, except Opdam the Admiral, who had a name: there were many excellent officers killed and taken, men of courage and of great experience in naval affairs, and therefore an irreparable damage to them: but they had grown up from common ſeamen, and ſo were of no other quality than every mariner of the fleet. In the part of the Engliſh, beſides above two hundred men that were killed on board the duke's own ſhip, there fell the earl of Falmouth, who had been lately ſpoken of, the lord Maskery, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been colonel of a Regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general eſtimation of an excellent officer. He was of the duke's bedchamber, and the earl and he at that time ſo near the duke, that his highneſs was all covered with their blood. There fell likewiſe in the ſame ſhip Mr. Richard Boyle, younger ſon of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who came newly home from travel, where he had ſpent his time with ſingular advantage, and took the firſt opportunity to loſe his life in the king's ſervice. There where many other gentlemen voluntiers in the ſame ſhip, who had the ſame fate. In Prince Rupert's ſhip, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved himſelf with notable courage and conduct, there were very many men ſlain, and ſome gentlemen volunteers of the beſt families, whoſe memories ſhould be preſerved. The earl of Malborough, who had

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the command of one of the beſt ſhips, and had great experience at ſea, and being now newly returned from the Weſt-indies, whither the king had ſent him with a ſqadron of ſhips to receive the iſland of Bombay from Portugal, was in this battle likewiſe ſlain: he was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in, than his title, and having no great eſtate deſcended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation, than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a voluntier on board his ſhip, and loſt his life by his ſide, being a young man of very good parts newly come of age, and the ſon of a very wiſe and worthy father, who died ſome few months before, and having a long and intire friendſhip with the earl of Malborough, his ſon tho' of a melancholick nature, intended to lead an active life and to apply himſelf to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died bravely. There was another almoſt irreparble loſs this day, in Sir John Lawſon, who was admiral of a ſquadron, and of ſo eminent ſkill and conduct in all maritime affairs, that his council was moſt conſidered in all debates, and the greateſt ſeamen ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a ſhot with a muſket ball upon the knee, with which he fell, and finding that he could no more ſtand, and was in great torment, he ſent to the duke to deſire him to ſend another man to command his ſhip, which he preſently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal, and they made haſte to ſend him on ſhore, as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for ſome days there was hope of his recovery, but ſhortly his wound gangreened, and ſo he

he died with very great courage and profeſſion of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

He was indeed of all the men of that extraction and education, incomparably the modeſteſt and the wiſeſt man, and moſt worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkſhire near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the ſea from their cradle; and a young man of that profeſſion he was when the parliament firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the royal navy, and Hull being in their ſervice, all the Northernmen eaſily betook themſelves to their ſervice, and his induſty and ſobriety made him quickly taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till from a common ſailor he was promoted to be a captain of a ſmall veſſel, and from thence to the command of the beſt ſhips. He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, ſome of which vere very ſtupendious, and in all the battles, which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a ſignal officer, and very much valued by him. He was of that claſſis of religion, which were called Independants, moſt of which were Anabaptiſts, who were generally believed to have moſt averſion to the king, and therefore employed in moſt offices of truſt. He was commander in chief of the fleet, when Richard was thrown out, and when the conteſt grew between the Rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament, which brake the neck of all other deſigns, though he intended only the better ſettlement of the Common-wealth. When the council of ſtate was ſettled between the diſſolution of the Rump and the calling the parliament, they did not like the temper of the fleet, nor eſpecially of Lawſon, who, under the title of vice-admiral, had the whole command of the fleet, which

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was very ſtrong, and in which there were many captains they liked well, yet they durſt not remove the vice-admiral, leſt his intereſt in the ſeamen, which was very great, ſhould give them new trouble. The expedient they reſolved upon was to ſend Col. Montagu as admiral to command the fleet, without removing Lawſon, who continued ſtill in his command, and could not refuſe to be commanded by Montagu, who had always been his ſuperior officer, and who had likewiſe a great intereſt in very many of the officers and ſeamen. Yet Montague, who brought with him a firm reſolution to ſerve the king, which was well known to his majeſty, had no confidence in Lawſon, till the parliament had proclaimed the king: and when he brought the fleet to Skivelin to receive the king, and all men looked upon the vice-admiral as a great Anabaptiſt, and not fit to be truſted: but when the king and the duke had conferred with him, they liked him very well, and he was from that time in the command of the vice-admiral in all the fleets, which were ſent into the Mediterranean; nor did any man perform his duty better. He cauſed all perſons, how well qualified ſoever, who he knew were affected to a republick to be diſmiſſed from the ſervice, and brought very good order into his own ſhip; and frequented the church prayers himſelf, and made all the ſeamen do ſo: he was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all thoſe, who had faithfully ſerved the king, and never recommended any body to the duke to be preferred but ſuch; and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honeſt man. It looked like ſome preſage that he had of his own death, that before he went to ſea he came to the treaſurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always born much reſpect, and ſpake to them in a dialect

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he had never before uſed, for he was a very generous man, and lived in his houſe decently and plentifully, and had never made any the leaſt ſuit or pretence for money. Now he told them that he was going upon an expedition, in which many honeſt men muſt loſe their lives, and tho' he had no apprehenſion of himſelf, but that God would protect him as he had often done on the ſame occaſions: yet he thought it became him, againſt the worſt, to make his condition known to them, and the rather, becauſe he knew he was eſteemed generally to be rich. He ſaid, in truth he thought himſelf ſo ſome few months ſince, when he was worth eight or nine thouſand pounds: but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much above him (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampſhire) who had fallen in love with her, and his father out of tenderneſs to his ſon had conſented to it, had obliged him to give her ſuch a portion as might in ſome degree make her worthy of ſo great a fortune; and that he had not reſerved ſo much to himſelf and wife and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter; he deſired them therefore, that, if he ſhould miſcarry in this enterprize, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a year for her life: if he lived, he deſired nothing; he hoped he ſhould make ſome proviſion for them by his own induſtry; nor did he deſire any other grant or ſecurity for this two hundred pounds yearly, than the king's word and promiſe, and that they would ſee it effectual. The ſuit was ſo modeſt, and the ground of making it ſo juſt and reaſonable, that they willingly informed his majeſty of it, who as graciouſly granted it, and ſpake himſelf to him of it with very obliging circumſtances, that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and periſhed as gallantly in

it, with a univerſal lamentation. And it is to be preſumed, that the promiſe was as well performed to his wife, ſure it is, it was exactly complied with whilſt either of thoſe two perſons had any power.

The victory and triumph of that day was ſurely very great, and a juſt argument of publick joy. How it came to be no greater, ſhall be ſaid anon: and the trouble and grief in many noble families for the loſs of ſo many worthy and gallant perſons could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other neareſt relations; but no ſorrow was equal, at leaſt not ſo remarkable as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his majeſty beſt, and had ſeen how unſhaken he had ſtood in other very terrible aſſaults were amazed at the flood of tears he ſhed upon this occaſion. The immenſeneſs of the victory, and the conſequence that might have attended the ſafety and preſervation of his brother with ſo much honour, uu whoſe behalf he had had ſo terrible apprehenſions during the three day's fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordinance from the beginning, even after by the leſſening of the noiſe as from a greater diſtance he concluded that the enemy was upon flight. Yet all this and the univerſal joy that he ſaw in the countenance of all men for the victory and the ſafety of the duke made no impreſſion in him towards the mitigation of his paſſion for the loſs of this young favourite; in whom few other men had ever obſerved any virtue or quality, which they did not wiſh their beſt friends without, and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and conſiderable part of the victory. He was young, and of inſatiable ambition, and a little more experience might have taught him all things, which his weak parts were capable of: but they who obſerved the ſtrange

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degree of favour he had on the ſuddain arrived to, even from a deteſtation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep ſorrow the king was poſſeſſed with for this death, to what a prodigious height might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way. The duke after he had given directions for the ſpeedy repairing of the fleet, and for the preſent ſending out ſuch ſhips, as could quickly be made ready to ride before the coaſts of Holland, made haſte to preſent himſelf to the king, and to the queen his mother, who was ready to begin her journey to France; and had ſtaid ſome days to ſee the ſucceſs of the naval fight; and afterwards to ſee the duke; and within few days after his arrival her majeſty left the kingdom. And now the whiſper begun in the duke's family of the reaſon, why the victory after ſo great advantages had not been purſued with that vigour, that might have made it more deſtructive to the enemy than it proved to be. The maſter of the duke's ſhip purſued his orders very punctually after the duke was gone to ſleep, and kept within a juſt diſtance of the Dutch fleet, that remained in order together, for many fled in confuſion, and ſingly to that part of the coaſt, that they thought they knew beſt, and many of them were taken. But the duke was no ſooner in ſleep, but Mr. Brounker of his bed-chamber, who with wonderful confuſion had ſuſtained the terrour of the day, reſolved to prevent the like on the day ſucceeding. He firſt went to Sir William Penn, who commanded the ſhip, and told him, that he knew well how miraculouſly the duke was preſerved that day, and that they ought not further to tempt God, wiſhed him to remember, that the duke was not only the king's brother, but the heir apparent of the crown, and what the con-

ſequence would be, if he ſhould be loſt; and therefore it would concern him not to ſuffer the duke's known and notorious courage to ingage him in a new danger; which he would infallibly be the next morning, if they continued to make ſo much ſail as they did, and to keep ſo near the Dutch who fled: but if they were preſſed and in deſpair, would fight as ſtoutly, as they had done in the beginning, and therefore he deſired and adviſed him to give the maſter order to ſlacken the ſails, that the Dutch might get what ground they could, to avoid a further encounter. Penn anſwered him honeſtly, and told him he durſt give no ſuch orders, except he had a mind to be hanged, for the duke had himſelf given poſitive charge to the contrary. Mr. Brounker, when he could not prevail there, confidently went to the maſter of the ſhip, who was an honeſt and a ſtout man, and carefully kept the ſteerage himſelf, that he might be ſure to obſerve the orders he had received from his highneſs, and told him, that it was the duke's pleaſure that he ſhould ſlacken the ſails, without taking notice of it to any man. Whereupon the maſter did, as he was commanded, making no doubt that a ſervant ſo near the perſon of his highneſs and in ſo much favour with him would have brought ſuch an order without due authority; and by this means the remainder of the fleet eſcaped; which otherwiſe would probably have been all taken: for it was afterwards known, that there was ſuch a confuſion amongſt the officers, that no body would obey. For tho' in truth the right of commanding, according to the cuſtom obſerved amongſt them, after the death of Opdam was in the vice-admiral of Zeland, yet he being likewiſe killed, the other could not agree; but young Trumpe, the ſon of the old famous admiral, who had behaved himſelf very bravely all the day,

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challenged the command in the right of Holland: but John Everſon of Zeland, brother to him that was killed, required it as his right, which begat ſo great an animoſity, as well as confuſion amongſt them, that the morning, if they had been purſued, would have been in all probability as diſmal to them as the day before had been. But the duke never ſuſpected this, nor did any preſume to tell him of it, which made many men preſume that it was done with the privity of Mr. Coventry; not only for the great friendſhip between him and Mr. Brounker, but becauſe Penn and the maſter were ſo ſilent, when the duke was ſo much troubled the next morning: nor did the duke come to hear of it, till ſome years after, when Mr. Brounker's ill courſe of life, and his abominable nature had rendered him ſo odious, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and upon examination found to be true, as is here related: upon which he was expelled the houſe of commons, whereof he was a member, as an infamous perſon, tho' his friend Coventry adhered to him, and uſed many indirect arts to have protected him; and afterwards procured him to have more countenance from the king, than moſt men thought he deſerved; being a perſon throughout his whole life never notorious for any thing, but the higheſt degree of imprudence; and ſtooping to the moſt infamous offices; and playing very well at cheſs; which preferred him more than the moſt virtuous qualities could have done.

With this victory, a new vaſt charge and expenſe (beſides the repairing the hurt ſhips, maſt and rigging, and fitting out new ſhips of war, and buying more fire-ſhips) appeared, that was not foreſeen, or brought into any computation; which was a proviſion for ſick and wounded men; which amounted to ſo great a number upon all

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the coaſt, that the charge amounted in all places, notwithſtanding the general charity of the people, and the convenience that many hoſpitals yielded, to above two thouſand pounds the week for ſome weeks; and tho' leſs afterwards by the death and recovery of many, yet continued very great, beſides the charge of keeping the Dutch priſoners, which were above two thouſand, and every day increaſed. The duke was very impatient to repair and ſet out the fleet again to ſea, and reſolved nothing more than to go in perſon again to command it, his family remaining ſtill on board, and preparing ſuch things as were wanting for his accommodation. But the queen mother had prevailed with the king at parting to promiſe her, that the duke ſhould not go again in perſon in that expedition; which was concealed from the duke. His majeſty believing that the confidence of his royal highneſs's going contributed very much to the ſetting out the fleet, as it did, ſo much, that but for that, it had been impoſſible to have procured ſo much money, as was with infinite difficulty procured, to ſatisfy the expences of ſo many kinds, whereof many had been unthought of; and towards this there was a benefit that flowed from a fountain of extreme miſery; which was the increaſe of the plague, which ſpread ſo faſt, that the king's ſtaying ſo long in town was very dangerous. Yet the approach of this great calamity, that in other reſpects produced great miſchiefs, advanced the preſent enterprize: for all people, that had money, knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houſes, where they durſt not ſtay themſelves; ſo they willingly put it into the banker's hands, who ſupplied the king upon ſuch aſſignations as the late act of parliament, and other branches of the king's revenue would yet bear.

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And if at this time the French ambaſſadors had purſued their office of mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with ſucceſs, for beſides the great loſs the Dutch had received in the battle, and in being deprived of ſo many of their merchant ſhips, the factions were irreconcileable in the fleet. There were many officers who had behaved themſelves very baſely and cowardly in the action, but they knew not how to puniſh them. Everſon and Trumpe, who were the beſt ſeamen, would not ſubmit to be commanded by each other. The people were ready to riſe upon De Witt, upon whom they looked as the occaſion of the war, and cried aloud for peace. And the faction amongſt the ſtates themſelves was very viſible, all the other complained bitterly againſt the province of Holland, which they ſaid had ingaged them in a war againſt their will, and without their privity, which was directly contrary to the form and conſtitution of their government. In a word, peace was univerſally deſired and prayed for, and in the opinion of all men, any reaſonable conditions would at that time have been yielded to. And as the people of England generally had not been pleaſed with the beginning of the war, ſo the court was weary of it; and the king would have been willing to have received any good overtures for the compoſing it; and the duke, ſince he was kept from bearing a part in it, would not have oppoſed it; but the ambaſſadors preſſed no ſuch matter, but congratulated the victory with the ſame joy they found in the court, and ſeemed to think that any misfortune that could befall the Dutch, would be but a juſt puniſhment for their pride and inſolence towards all their neighbour princes. The two nations had not yet worried themſelves enough intirely to ſubmit to the arbitration of France, which it reſolved they ſhould do. With-

in leſs than a month, the fleet was again prepared, and ready for the ſea, as ſtrong, and in as good a condition as it had been before the battle: and the king and the duke went thither, the duke making no doubt of putting his perſon on board: and the king at that time reſolved that prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich ſhould have the joint command of it; in order to which prince Rupert was prepared, of whoſe eaſy concurrence there was only ſome doubt, his majeſty promiſing himſelf all conformity and reſignation from the earl of Sandwich, which he meet with in both, for the prince very chearfully ſubmitted to his majeſty's pleaſure. In the journey the king acquainted his brother with his reſolution, and the promiſe he had made to the queen their mother, with which the duke was much troubled, and offered many reaſons to divert his majeſty from laying his command upon him: but when he found there was no remedy, he ſubmitted and gave orders for diſembarking his family and goods. But when this was communicated to Mr. Coventry, who was to prepare ſuch commiſſion and warrants, as upon this alteration of councils was neceſſary, he perſuaded the duke, and prevailed with him to believe, that it would be much better to commit the ſole command of the fleet to the earl of Sandwich, than to join prince Rupert in it with him, who for no other reaſon but for not eſteeming him at the rate he valued himſelf, had been long in his diſfavour; he ſuggeſted ſome defects in the prince, which no body could abſolve him from; and which the gentle temper of the earl of Sandwich, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with, and many thought it would have in the conjunction produced a very good mixture; the danger from the prince being too ſuddain reſolutions from too much heat

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and paſſion; and the earl having enough of phlegm and warineſs in deliberating, and much vigour in executing what was concluded, and were both well prepared and inclined to perform the function: but Mr. Coventry's advice prevailed both with the duke and the king; and ſo in the inſtant that the king and duke were to return from the fleet, that was ready to ſet ſail with the firſt wind, and not till then, the king told prince Rupert without inlarging upon reaſons, that he would have him to return with him to London, and accompany him this ſummer; and that the earl of Sandwich ſhould have the ſole command of the fleet; with which the prince was wonderfully ſurprized and perplexed, and even heart-broken: but there was no contending: he ſtayed behind the king only till he could get his goods and family diſembarked, and then returned with very much trouble to the court; and the earl of Sandwich ſet ſail with the fleet, with direction firſt to viſit the coaſts of Holland, and if he found that the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, that he ſhould go northward to watch the eaſt India fleet, which had orders from their ſuperiours to come by the north, that they might avoid the Engliſh fleet, that was maſter of the ſea.

It was the end of June, or the beginning of July that the king and duke returned from the fleet; and within few days after it ſet ſail; when the plague encreaſed ſo faſt, that there died about two thouſand in a week; ſo that all men cryed out againſt the king's ſtaying ſo long at Whitehall, the ſickneſs being already at Weſtminſter. Whereupon the king, after he had taken the beſt care he could with the lord mayor for the good ordering the city; and publiſhed ſuch orders as were thought neceſſary for the relief and regulation of infected perſons; and prevailed with ſome juſtices

of the peace in the Strand and in Weſtminſter to promiſe to reſide there; which they were the more eaſily perſuaded to do by the general's declaring, that he would ſtay in his lodgings at Whitehall; which he did during the whole time of the peſtilence. And the lord Craven out of friendſhip to him ſtayed likewiſe in his houſe in Drury-lane; and it cannot be denied, that the preſence of thoſe two great perſons prevented many miſchiefs, which would have fallen out by the diſorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town. I ſay, when the king had ſettled all this, he removed to Hampton, reſolving there to conſider how to diſpoſe of himſelf for the remainder of the ſummer. And becauſe there were many particulars ſtill unreſolved concerning the buſineſs of Ireland, his majeſty for ſome days appointed that numerous people, that they might have no pretence to come to Hampton-court, to attend at Sion, where for many days together his majeſty ſpent many hours, till he had compoſed that affair, as well as it was for the preſent capable of. The plague ſtill increaſed at London, and ſpread about the country, ſo that it was not thought ſafe for the court to remain longer where it then was, the ſickneſs being already in ſome adjacent villages. Whereupon the king reſolved that his own family and his brother's ſhould remove to Salisbury, and ſpend the ſummer there: and becauſe it was already in view, that it would not be fit for the parliament to aſſemble again at Weſtminſter in September, to which time it was prorogued; nor could it be computed at what time it could be ſafe to meet in that place; and it was ſo notorious that if the parliament met not ſomewhere, whereby the king might have another ſupply before the winter, there would be very great confuſion for want of money. He

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cauſed therefore a proclamation to be iſſued out, that he intended to adjourn the parliament to meet at Oxford upon the tenth of October next: and that the members were not to attend at Weſtminſter in September. And then he directed the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, who lived within half a day's journey of London and the general, and the lord Craven, to give notice to the members of both houſes, who lived within that diſtance, to be preſent in both houſes at the day to which they were prorogued, and then adjourn to Oxford according to the proclamation. And this being ſettled, his majeſty appointed a day for beginning his progreſs from Hampton-court to Salisbury, againſt which time all carriages and whatſoever was neceſſary for the journey were ready. In the morning, when every body believed that the king and queen, and duke and ducheſs with both their families were to go together one way, Mr. Coventry found a way to break that reſolution, having no mind to be in ſo great a court, that his greatneſs would not appear: he told the duke, that there were general diſcontents throughout the kingdom; which was true, and a probability of inſurrections, which were much ſpoken of and apprehended: and therefore it might be better that the king and the duke might not be together, but in ſeveral places, that that they might draw what forces were neceſſary to them, which the preſence of their own perſons would eaſily do: that the fleet would probably be all the ſummer upon the northern coaſt in expectation of the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet: for it was not then thought that the Hollanders would have been able to have ſet out another fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole matter he propoſed to him, that ſince the king meant to ſpend the ſummer in the weſt, with which there could very hardly

be any correſpondence from the fleet, that his highneſs ſhould go into the north, and reſide at York, by which he would have an influence upon all thoſe parts, where the moſt diſaffected perſons were moſt inhabitant; and from Hull and thoſe maritime parts he could not be long without receiving intelligence from the fleet. The truth is the conſtitution of the court at this time was ſuch; the prevalence of the ladies ſo great, and the queen's humour thereupon ſo inconſtant, and all together ſo diſcompoſed the king, that there was no pleaſure in being a part of it; and therefore the advice was as ſoon embraced as given, by the duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themſelves in their own family apart. And the duke preſently propoſed it to the king, and Mr. Coventry diſcourſed all the motives to him ſo fully, that his majeſty approved it: and then if it were to be done at all, the firſt attending the king to Salisbury; which was ſo much out of the way, would be to no purpoſe; and therefore it was reſolved, all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors, to go to Farnham, which was the firſt day's journey towards Salisbury, that the king and his brother would part upon the place, and that the king and queen ſhould continue their purpoſe for Farnham, and the duke and his wife ſhould go that night to St. Alban's, and ſo proſecute his journey for York; and all orders were in the inſtant given out for that purpoſe. Whether the reaſons of this council were of importance or not, the alteration on ſuch a ſuddain from what had been before determined was thought very ſtrange and wondered at; and made many believe, that ſome accident was fallen out that muſt not be diſcovered; for on the ſuddain it was, there having been no ſuch thought over night, when the chancellor left the court to go to his own houſe

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at Twickenham; and when he returned the next morning, the reſolution was taken, and every body well pleaſed with the change: and both the king and the duke told him with ſatisfaction of it. Nor did he underſtand it enough to make objection againſt it, which would have been ungrateful, nor was it convenient to ſpend longer time in deliberation at that place, where ſome of the inferiour ſervants had died the night before of the plague: and ſo they all entered upon their journey by nine of the clock the ſame morning.

It is neceſſary in this place to remember that the expreſs, that had been ſent by the biſhop of Munſter's agent, with the conditions which were offered by the king returned with great expedition, and brought the biſhop's acceptation, and engagement; that upon the payment of the firſt ſum that was agreed upon, he would draw his army together, and march with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and foot into the States dominions: and the king before he left London, had ſigned the treaty, and made the firſt payment, and provided for the ſecond. So that he now expected, that the biſhop ſhould be ſhortly upon his march, and fix his winter quarters in thoſe provinces, which he did reſolve, and intend with courage and ſincerity, and which in that conjuncture muſt have put the councils of Holland into great confuſion, when they began again to be reduced into ſome order. The indefatigable induſtry and dexterity of the penſionary de Witt prevailed with the States to believe, that he thought a peace to be neceſſary for their affairs; and deſired nothing but that it might be upon honourable and ſafe conditions; and that France was very real in the endeavouring it; but that the enemy was ſo inſolent upon their late ſucceſs, that they ne-

neglected all overtures; and believed that the factions and diviſions amongſt themſelves would hinder them from being able to ſet out another fleet; and therefore that ought to be the firſt deſign; and if their fleet were ready to go out, he doubted not but a peace would quickly follow, for that France was engaged to it, if the king ſhould not conſent to what is juſt and reaſonable, to declare a war againſt England; and to aſſiſt them with men and money, and all his own naval power, which the duke of Beaufort was then preparing and making ready in all the ports of France; but that it was not to be expected that they would ſend out their fleets, which was much inferior to the Engliſh, except they firſt ſaw a dutch fleet at ſea ready to join with them. He wiſhed them to conſider how much they were all concerned in their India ſhips, which were in their voyage, and could not be far from their coaſts in a ſhort time; all which would inevitably fall into the hands of the Engliſh, if they had no fleet at ſea to relieve them. Theſe reaſons of weight in themſelves, and the concernment of moſt of them in the preſervation of the India ſhips, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to ſet out a new fleet. And to that purpoſe they ſent very ſtrict and ſevere orders to their ſeveral admiralties, for the proceeding againſt all, without diſtinction of perſons, who had miſbehaved themſelves in the late battle; and to provide new ſhips and all neceſſary proviſions, to the end that their fleet might be at ſea by a certain time. And this grew the more eaſy to them, by the return of De Ruiter with his fleet from Guinea, which brought a preſent addition of good ſtrength; and he had begun the war upon the Engliſh; and was the beſt ſea-officer they had, and had exerciſed thoſe commands, that no other officer could refuſe to obey him. For the

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ſpeedy carrying on theſe preſent preparations, they made according to their uſual cuſtom in extraordinary occurrences, committees of the States to aſſiſt in the admiralty of Zealand, Amſterdam and Rotterdam: and to that purpoſe De Witt, and ſuch other as he thought fitteſt at this time to join with him were appointed. They went firſt to the fleet to reform the diſorders there; and tho' they durſt not proceed with that ſeverity as had been fit, yet they caſhired many captains and other officers; and put ſome other marks of diſgrace upon others, and cauſed one or two to die; but that which De Witt's heart was moſt ſet upon, was to take revenge upon Van Trumpe and to remove him from ever having any command at ſea. For though he was an excellent officer, and upon the ſtock of his father's credit of great eſtimation with the ſeamen; and inferior to no man but De Ruiter, and had behaved himſelf in the battle with ſignal courage, yet his diſpute with Everſon upon command had brought much prejudice to him: but that which was worſt of all, and incenſed De Witt implacably, was that he was of entire devotion to the prince of Orange, as well as his father had always been, and all his children continued to be; and he knew well had an eſpecial part, how covertly ſoever, in fomenting the murmurs of the people againſt him and the war; and he reſolved to take this opportunity of the good temper the States were in, in their concurrence for ſetting out the fleet, not only to provide for the better government of their ſhips and marine conduct; but to puniſh and prevent the murmurs at land, by removing all thoſe out of any power, who he ſuſpected to have ſecretly contributed to them. He did all he could to make Van Trumpe's offence capital; as if the right of command had been ſo clear in Everſon, that the other could not diſpute it; but

but Van Trumpe defended himſelf, and had ſo many friends that he was abſolved from that guilt; yet for ſome paſſionate and indiſcreet words, in which he did naturally abound, he was deprived of his command, with a declaration that he ſhould no more be employed in the ſervice of the States: which whilſt the government was in thoſe hands, he cared not for, and had a good eſtate to ſubſiſt without it. And ſo for the preſent all differences were compos'd ſo far, as to have a general concurrence in whatſoever was neceſſary, and in order to the making ready and ſetting out their fleet to ſea.

The king had been a few days at Salisbury before the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors arrived there; and then they made ſome inſtance with the king that there might be a treaty for peace, and declared that the king their maſter was ſo far engaged by treaty with the Dutch, that if the king would not accept of a juſt and an honourable peace, his majeſty muſt declare himſelf on their behalf, which he was unwilling to do. The king anſwered, that if there were any ſuch engagement he had not been well dealt with; for that the French king had given his word to him that he would not enter into any treaty with the Dutch, but pari paſſu with his majeſty; and when his majeſty had been informed that there was ſome treaty concluded with them, he was aſſured from France that it was only a treaty of commerce, which he had been obliged to enter into, to prevent an edict in Holland, by which ſtrong waters and other French commodities would have been inhibited to be brought into thoſe provinces, but that there was nothing in that treaty that could be to his majeſty's prejudice. That his majeſty had been always ready to embrace peace, which had been never yet offered by the Dutch, nor did he know what conditions they expected. The ambaſſadors ſeemed to be much offended with the inſolent behaviour of the Dutch,

Dutch, and confeſſed that they were not ſollicitous for peace, but only deſired to engage the king their maſter in the war; but that if his majeſty would make his demands, which they preſumed would be reaſonable, the other ſhould be brought to conſent to them: to which the king reply'd, that they had begun the war upon him, and not he upon them, and that God had hitherto given him the advantage which he hoped he ſhould improve; and, till they were as deſirous of a peace as he, it would not become him to make any propoſitions. And in this manner that affair ſtood whilſt the court remained at Salisbury. And there fell out an unexpected accident, which looked as if providence had been inclined to repair the miſchief and the damage that the plague had produced to the affairs of the king. It hath been montioned before, that upon the firſt thoughts of a war with the Dutch, the king had ſent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and Sir Gilbert Talbott to Denmark, to engage thoſe crowns as far as might be on his majeſty's behalf, both of them being enough diſobliged and provoked by the Dutch. Mr. Coventry in Sweden found a frank and open reception, avowing a hearty affection to the king, and an inclination to join in any thing, that might not be deſtructive to their own affairs: nor did they diſſemble the injuries they had received from the Hollander, even to the Dutch ambaſſador himſelf, who was at the ſame time ſent thither to unite that crown to their intereſt, to which purpoſe he had made ſeveral ſpecious overtures: nor did they conceal the jealouſy they had of the French, who had not comply'd with the payment of the yearly ſum of money, which they were obliged to make to them for their ſupport of their army, of which they were in a great arrear, that diſcompoſed their affairs very much, and tho' Monſ. Pompone,

who had been long reſident in that court as an envoy, was now come thither as ambaſſador from France, and brought with him a good ſum of money to retain them faſt to their dependance upon them, yet the money was not half that was due to them, and they well knew what dark ends it was for, and they did exceedingly fear the omnipotence of France. There were two things which kept them from a full declaration on the king's behalf, and ingaging preſently in his intereſt. The firſt was, the apprehenſion that they had of Denmark, that it would take this opportunity to unite themſelves more firmly to the Hollander, and ſo attempt to deprive Sweden of all their late conqueſt, which was confirmed to them by their own treaty of Copenhagen, which they were reſolved never to part from. And in this particular they were to expect ſome ſatisfaction and ſecurity from the negotiation of Sir Gilbert Talbott. The other was that they might ſee the biſhop of Munſter fully engaged, upon whoſe expedition they had much expectation, and Mr. Coventry had informed them of that whole agreement, which would have given them opportunity to have proſecuted their own deſign upon Bremen, to which their hearts were moſt devoted. Sir Gilbert Talbott had been as well received in Denmark, with all the profeſſions imaginable of affection to the king, and of their deteſtation of the Dutch, who in truth had exerciſed a ſtrange tyranny over them, by the advantage of their neceſſities; nor is the injuſtice, oppreſſion and indignities, which they had ſuſtained from them, to be expreſſed and deſcribed without entering into a large diſcourſe of particulars, which are foreign to this relation. Let it ſuffice that there needed few arguments to perſuade that king to any thing that was within his power, and which would have done ſignal miſ-

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chief to the Dutch. But the truth is, the kingdom was very poor, the people unwarlike, the king himſelf very good, but very weak, jealous of all the great men, and not yet recovered of the fright, that Wolfelt had put him into. His chief miniſter, one Gabell, had gotten his credit by having been his barber; an illiterate and unbred man, yet his ſole confidant in his buſineſs of the greateſt truſt: which made all the perſons of quality in the kingdom, who are as proud of their nobility as any nation, full of indignation. And they were able to croſs many reſolutions after they were taken, though they could not eſtabliſh others in the place; which made the king very irreſolute and unfixed, ſo that what was concluded to-day, was reverſed or not purſued to-morrow. They profeſſed a great jealouſy of the Swedes, as the greateſt argument, but their weakneſs againſt the Dutch, yet were not willing to propoſe any expedients which might ſecure them againſt thoſe jealouſies: and the king abſolutely denied that he had ever given Hannibal Zeſted authority to declare that he would again confirm the treaty he had made; and ſeemed to take it unkindly that his majeſty ſhould think it reaſonable; who therefore thought it ſo, becauſe it was propoſed by himſelf, and becauſe he ſtill confeſſed that he could make no attempt to recover what he had parted with: that, which he did unreaſonably deſign in all the diſguiſes, which were put on, was to engage the king to endeavour to perſuade the Swedes to give up and reſtore Elſenore and the other places to Denmark; or to aſſiſt him with force for the recovery of them, when there ſhould be a peace concluded with Holland: ſo that the king deſpaired of any good from that negotiation, and reſolved ſhortly to recal his miniſter from thence. But

there was on a ſuddain a change to wonder. Gabell came early in a morning to Sir Gilbert Talbott, and told him his maſter was now reſolved to unite his intereſt intirely to that of the king of England, having now an opportunity to do it ſecurely to both their benefits. He told him that there were letters arrived that night from Bergen with news that the Eaſt-India ſhips were arrived in that port with orders to remain there, till they received new orders from Holland, which they ſhould have, as ſoon as their fleet ſhould be ready to join them. This had diſpoſed the king to reſolve to give the king of England opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of all that treaſure, out of which he preſumed he would allow him ſuch a ſhare, as might enable him to declare and aſſiſt his majeſty vigorouſly in his war againſt the Dutch: that if he gave ſpeedy notice to the king's fleet, which every body knew was then at ſea, it might eaſily go to Bergen, where they might eaſily ſurprize all thoſe ſhips in the port, ſince they ſhould receive no oppoſition from the caſtles, under whoſe protection they lay: and when he had done his relation, he offered him to go with him to the king, that he might receive the obligation from himſelf, which Sir Gilbert Talbott preſently did, and found his majeſty as chearful in the reſolution, as Gabell had been. He repeated all that the other had ſaid, and more particularly that he thought it reaſonable that he might expect half of the value that the whole would amount to, which he would rely upon the king's honour and juſtice for, after the ſhips ſhould be in England: and that he might not be ſuſpected by the Hollander, he would proteſt the act as a violence that he could not reſiſt, and ſo he would expect ſo many of his majeſty's ſhips to arrive in Denmark, and to aſſiſt him, before he poſitively declar-

declared againſt the Dutch: he wiſhed Sir Gilbert Talbot to ſend an expreſs forthwith to the king with all theſe particulars, which he did the next day.

This expreſs arrived within few days after the king came to Salisbury, and was diſpatched preſently back again with letters to the king of Denmark, of his majeſty conſent and ratification of all that he had propoſed: and with letters likewiſe to the earl of Sandwich, who according to his former orders had ſailed northward, in hope to meet with that fleet, which was before got into Norway. The king's letters came to him in a very good ſeaſon, and he immediately continued his courſe for Norway; and when he came to that length, and near enough to that land of rocks, which are terrible to all ſeamen, he thought it beſt to remain at ſea with his fleet, leaſt De Ruiter might by this time be come out with his fleet; ſince his being come northward could not be concealed, nor the arrival of the Eaſt India fleet at Bergen, which would haſten the other, and ſent a ſquadron of fifteen or ſixteen good ſhips (of ſtrength ſufficient for the buſineſs) into the harbour of Bergen, with a letter to the governor, and with it he ſent a gentleman that was a volunteer on board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. Clifford the confidant of the lord Arlington, who was well inſtructed in all the tranſactions which had been at Copenhagen, before they went into the harbour. Mr. Clifford and another gentleman or two went by boat to the town, where he found all the Dutch ſhips (about a dozen in number) riding very near the ſhore, and all under the protection of the caſtle, into which they had put much of their richeſt lading from the time of their firſt coming thither, as to a place of unqueſtionable ſecurity. The governor was not ſurpriſed with the meſſengers or the letter, as appeared by

the

the reception of both; but ſeemed troubled that they were come ſo ſoon, before the manner of performing the action was enough adjuſted: he could not deny but that he had received orders from Copenhagen; but that he expected more perfect directions within four and twenty hours, and expected likewiſe the preſence of the vice-king of Norway, who was his ſuperior officer, and would infallibly be there the next day. The behaviour of the man was ſuch, as made them believe it ſincere, as in truth it was; for he meant well, and was content that the ſhips, which tho' they were not come into the port, did not ride ſafe among the rocks, ſhould come into the port, upon aſſurance that they would not attempt any hoſtile act without his conſent; which was till all things ſhould be agreed between them: and ſo the fleet enter'd, which the Dutch perceived with great conſternation; yet changed the poſture of ſome of their ſhips, and new moored the reſt, and put themſelves upon their defence. It is a port like no other that the world knows, a very great number of formidable rocks, between each of which the ſea runs deep enough for the greateſt ſhips to ride ſecurely; ſo that the ſhips were as in ſo many chambers apart between the rocks: and the Dutch which came thither firſt, had poſſeſſed themſelves of that line of the ſea, which lay next the ſhore, to which they lay ſo near that they could deſcend from their veſſels on land; which had been much the better for the enterprize, if the Dane had concurred in its. It was ſo late before the Engliſh ſhips had taken their places, which was as near the Dutch, as the rocks will permit, that they remained quiet all night, which was ſpent in conſultation between the commander in chief of the Engliſh ſhips, who was a ſtout and a good officer; but a rough man, who knew better how to follow

his

his inſtructions, than to debate the ground of them; but he was adviſed by Mr. Clifford and conformed to his judgment; and the governor's of the town and caſtle, who ſeemed ſtill inclined not only to ſuffer the Engliſh to do what they would; but to be willing to act a part in it himſelf from the ſhore, and to expect hourly orders to that purpoſe, as likewiſe the arrival of the vice-king, whoſe authority was more equal to that attempt, and was a man well known to have a particular reverence for the king; and as particular a prejudice and animoſity againſt the Dutch. The night being over, the governor continued all the next day as deſirous and importunate, that the enterprize might be longer defer'd; upon which there were ſome cholerick words between the governor and a gentleman of quality, who was a volunteer on board the ſhips, which many thought in ſome degree irreconcil'd the governor to the affair. In concluſion, the commander of the ſquadron was: willing to think that the governor had rather it ſhould be done without his declared conſent than by it, and ſo told him that the next morning he was reſolved to weigh his anchors and to fall upon the Dutch, to which the other made ſuch a reply, as confirmed him in his former imagination: and in the morning the ſhips were brought out of their ſeveral channels and places as near the ſides of the Dutch as they could, and from whence they reſolved to board them, as ſoon as they had ſent their broad-ſides upon them; but they found that the Dutch had ſpent their time well; for in the two days and two nights that the Engliſh had been in the harbour, beſides the unloading the richeſt of the commodities that were let into the caſtle, they had drawn all their ordinance which lay on that ſide of the ſhips which were to the ſhore on land, and planted them upon

upon a riſing ground, that they could ſhoot over their own ſhips upon the Engliſh, and a breaſt-work was caſt up, behind which all the inhabitants of the town were in arms: it was a fair warning and might have perſuaded our men to be glad to retire out of the harbour, which yet they might have done; but their courage, or their anger diſpoſed them to make further trial of the governor; for they feared not the ordinance from the land, which the Dutch had planted; nor the muskets from the breaſt-works, if the caſtle did them no harm, under the power of which they all were, and ſo they fell upon their work, and in ſome time, and the loſs of many men from the ſhips and the land, they had diſmounted many of the ordinance upon the ſhore, and were even ready to board the ſhips, when out of abſurd rage or accident a ſhip or two of the Engliſh diſcharged ſome guns both upon the breaſt-work from whence they had received no prejudice, and upon the town, which beat down ſome houſes: but then all the muskets from the breaſt-works were poured out, and guns from the caſtle, which killed very many common men, and five or ſix officers of very good account, and ſome gentlemen volunteers, amongſt which was Edward Montagu, elderſt ſon to the lord Montagu of Boughton, and couſin-germain to the earl of Sandwich, a proper man and well bred; but not eaſy to be pleaſed, and was then withdrawn from the court, where he was maſter of the horſe to the queen, and in ſome diſcontent had put himſelf on board the fleet with a captain without the privity of the earl of Sandwich, and was now ſlain. There was no further experiment to be made; but how they could get to ſea, which might eaſily have been prevented from the ſhore and from the rocks; but from the minute that they prepared to be

gone,

gone, and gave over ſhooting: there was no more done againſt them, and they had pilots from the country that carried them ſafe out.

The noiſe of the guns had called the earl of Sandwich as near the mouth of the harbour, as could ſafely be to diſcover what became of his ſquadron; ſo that they came ſhortly to him with the whole account of their ill ſucceſs; and within a ſhort time after a ſhallop with a letter to the officer who had commanded the ſquadron, complaining as much as he could do of the misbehaviour of the Engliſh in ſhooting upon the town, and deſired that Mr. Clifford would give him a meeting at a place he appointed, to which the ſhallop ſhould convey him. Mr. Clifford was more willing to go, than the earl was to permit him: yet at laſt upon his own earneſt deſire he conſented, and he put himſelf into the ſhallop. It happened that when the action was over, and the Engliſh under ſail, the vice-king arrived at Bergen, with two or three regiments of the country; and the orders were likewiſe come from Copenhagen, whereby at leaſt as they pretended, they were required to permit all that the Engliſh deſired; and the vice-king had cauſed the ſhallop to be ſent, and was himſelf with the governor at the place, whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he ſpake with them together. The governor with many proteſtations excuſed himſelf for ſhooting from the caſtle, after the town was aſſaulted and many of the burghers killed, who had ſtood in arms only to defend the town without being concerned for the Dutch or their ſhips, and made it an argument of his integrity and reſpect, that he had permitted them to depart, when it was in his power to have ſunk them. He complained that the commander would not have the patience to defer the aſſault

one day longer, which if he dad done, the orders from Copenhagen had been come, and the vice-king had been preſent with his forces, which would have ſecured the enterprize. The vice-king ſeemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earneſtly deſired that the ſame or another ſquadron might be again ſent in, when they ſhould be at liberty to do what they would upon the Dutch, and if they ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, they ſhould have as much as was neceſſary. Mr. Clifford replied to many of the excuſes which were made, and urged the ſuffering the Dutch to bring their ordinance on ſhore, and the townſmen's being in arms to aſſiſt them; and propoſed that they would firſt begin by ſeizing upon ſome of their ſhips, and then that their fleet ſhould anſwer; but this the vice-king did abſolutely refuſe, and made another propoſition that ſtartled more, and was directly new; that when the Engliſh had ſeized upon all the Dutch ſhips, they ſhould not have carried any of them away, till a perfect diviſion of the goods was made, that the king of Denmark might have his juſt proportion. Mr. Clifford made no anſwer, but that he would preſent all that they propoſed, to the earl of Sandwich, in whom the power of concluding and executing remained ſolely, and ſo he returned to the fleet, and they to the town, and expected an anſwer. The earl of Sandwich thought not fit to run any more hazards, and was not ſatisfied that they had proceeded ſincerely; but that which moſt prevailed with him was, that he had received intelligence that De Ruiter was come out with the fleet, and he would not he ſhould find him intangled in thoſe rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that coaſt, and the ſeaſon of the year now made that ſtation very inſecure; for it was already the beginning of October, when thoſe

ſeas run very high and boiſterous; and therefore he reſolved to be maſter of more ſea room, that he might fight De Ruiter if he came. And if he did not, he might then meet theſe Eaſt-India ſhips more ſecurely in their way to Holland, than by making another attempt in the harbour. And ſo after letters had paſſed and repaſſed between the vice-king and him, and both the vice-king and governor had undertaken to keep the Dutch ſhips for the ſpace of ſix weeks, for they deſired to ſee the ſucceſs of another engagement between the two fleets, the earl ſteered that way with his fleet, that moſt probably might bring him and De Ruiter together, which above all things he deſired. This whole affair of Bergen and the managery thereof was ſo perplex'd and intricate, that it was never clearly underſtood. That which ſeemed to have moſt probability was, that as ſoon as the Dutch fleet came to Bergen, they had unloaded many of their richeſt commodities, and put them into the caſtle, before the governor had received his orders from Copenhagen: and ſo both his own and his maſter's faith and honour were engaged to diſtruſt the truſt, of which he made haſte to ſend an account to the king, and thereupon expected new directions which were not arrived, when the Engliſh fleet came thither: and when they did come, whether that court according to its cuſtom did change its mind and believe they ſhould make a better bargain by keeping what was already depoſited in their hands in the caſtle, than by making an uncertain diviſion with the king, or whether they did in truth continue firm to the firſt agreement, and that the meſſenger was ſtopped by extraordinary accidents in his journey (as was poſitively alledged) ſo that he did not arrive in time, or whether the governor was not able to maſter the town, that was much inclined to the Hollanders,

before the vice-king came with his troups, who did make all poſſible haſte, as ſoon as he heard that the Engliſh were arrived, or whether the Engliſh did proceed more unadviſedly and raſhly than they ought to have done, remains ſtill in the dark, and both parties reproached each other afterwards, as they found moſt neceſſary for their ſeveral pretences and defenſes, of which more hereafter.

The king ſtaid not altogeter ſo long at Salisbury, as he had intended to have done, for beſides a little accidental indiſpoſition, which made him diſlike the air, ſome inferiour ſervants and their wives came from London or the villages adjacent, and brought the plague with them; ſo that the court removed to Oxford before the end of September. The parliament being to aſſemble there on the tenth of the next month, and before he left Salisbury, his majeſty ſent an expreſs to York to his Brother, that he would meet him as ſoon as he could. The duke had lived in great luſtre in York all that ſummer, with the very great reſpect, and continual attendance of all the perſons of quality of that large county: and the duke no ſooner received his majeſty's ſummons than he took poſt, and left his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and himſelf came to Oxford the next day after the king; where there were indeed matters of the higheſt importance to be conſulted and reſolved. The king had ſent Mr. Clifford to Denmark to be ſatisfied upon conference with Sir Gilbert Talbott concerning the miſcarriage at Bergen, and if the ſhips remained ſtill there according to the promiſe the vice-king had made; and if that king were ready to perform that he had undertaken, that all particulars might be ſo adjuſted, that there might be no further miſtake; and if he found that the jealouſy of Sweden was a real obſtruction to that alliance, that he ſhould make

a jour-

ney to Sweden; and upon a conference with Mr. Coventry, who by his dexterity and very good parts, had reconciled the affections of that court to a very great eſteem of him, to endeavour to remove all thoſe obſtructions: and as ſoon as his majeſty ſhould receive full information of that whole affair, he muſt conſider what he was to do to vindicate himſelf in that buſineſs of Bergen; for he knew well, that he muſt ſuffer with all the world for violating the peace of a port, that was under the government of a neighbour prince, with whom he was allied, if he did not make it appear, that he had the conſent of that prince, which he was not willing to do, till he firſt heard what the king would do. In the next place his majeſty was to reſolve what anſwer to make to the French ambaſſadors, who now deſired frequent audiences, and poſitively declared that their maſter was ingaged by his treaty with the Dutch, that in caſe they were invaded or aſſaulted by any prince, that he will aſſiſt them with men, money, and ſhips, which he had hitherto deferred to do out of reſpect to the king, and in hope that he would accept his mediation, and make ſuch propoſitions towards peace, as he might preſs the others to conſent to. The Dutch ambaſſador was likewiſe come to town, rather to treat concerning the priſoners, and to obſerve what the French ambaſſadors did, than that he had any thing to propoſe in order to peace, there appearing now ſince their fleet was at ſea more inſolence in the Dutch, and a greater averſion from the peace than had been formerly. The king complained to the ambaſſadors of the French king's proceedings, that the entring into that treaty was expreſsly againſt his own word given to the king; that the Dutch had firſt begun the war, and ought to make the firſt approach towards peace; but that their ambaſſador had

no

no inſtruction to make any ſuch inſtance; and therefore it ſeemed very ſtrange to his majeſty, that the French king ſhould preſs for that, which they had no deſire to have. The ambaſſadors confeſſed that the Dutch did not deſire a peace; that they thought they were too much behind hand; and that they had at preſent great advantages, that they looked upon the great plague in London (which continued in its full rage and vigour, in ſo much that at that time, in the end of September there died not ſo few as ſix thouſand in the week, among which were ſome of the beſt quality) as of ſuch inſupportable damage to the king, that he would not be able to ſet out another fleet the year following; and therefore that when they had been preſſed by the French king to make ſome propoſitions towards peace, that he could get no other anſwer from them, than that they expected that the iſland of Poleroon ſhould be releaſed to them; that the fort at Cabo Corſo in Guinea ſhould be thrown down and ſlighted, which they confeſſed was an inſolent propoſition; that they complained that the king their maſter inſtead of given them the aſſiſtance, he was obliged to do, ſpent the time in procuring a peace, which they cared not for. So that they ſaid their maſter continued the ſame chriſtian office, principally to do his majeſty of great Britain a ſervice, who he in truth believed would be reduced to great ſtreights by the terrible effect of the plague; and in the next place to defend himſelf from entering into the war, which he could no longer defer to do, if his majeſty did not, by conſenting to ſome reaſonable overture give him a juſt occaſion to preſs them to yield to it; and in that caſe he would behave himſelf in that manner, that the king ſhould have no cauſe to complain of his partiality. The king's indignation was ſo provoked by the pride and impudence

pudence of the Dutch demands, that he gave the ambaſſadors no other anſwer, than that he hoped God almighty had not ſent that heavy judgment of the plague upon him and his people on the behalf of the Hollanders, and to expoſe him to their inſolence.

The parliament convened at Oxford in greater numbers than could reaſonably have been expected, the ſickneſs ſtill continuing to rage and ſpread itſelf in ſeveral countries; ſo that between the danger that was in the towns infected, and the neceſſary ſeverity in other towns to keep themſelves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient ſeaſon for all perſons of quality to travel from their own habitations. Upon the tenth of October the king commanded both houſes to attend him in Chriſt-church-hall, and told them, that he was confident they did all believe that if it had not been abſolutely to conſult with them, he would not have called them together at that time, when the contagion had ſpread itſelf over ſo many parts of the kingdom; and he thanked them for their compliance ſo far with his deſires. His majeſty ſaid, the truth was, as he had entered upon the war by their advice and encouragment; ſo he deſired, that they might as frequently as poſſible receive information of the effects and conduct of it, and that he might have the continuance of their chearful ſupply for the carrying it on. He would not deny to them, that it had proved more chargeable, than he could imagine it would have been; the addition the enemy had ſtill made to their fleets beyond their firſt purpoſe made it unavoidably neceſſary for him to make proportionable preparations, which God had hitherto bleſſed with ſucceſs in all encounters: and as they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours by calumnies and falſe ſuggeſtions to gain friends to themſelves, and to perſuade

ſuade them to aſſiſt them againſt him; ſo he had not been wanting to encourage thoſe princes, who had been wronged by the Dutch, to recover their own by force; and in order thereunto he had aſſiſted the biſhop of Munſter with a great ſum of ready money, and was to continue a ſupply to him, who, he believed, was at that time in the bowels of their country with a powerful army. Thoſe iſſues which he might tell them had been made with very much conduct and huſbandry (nor indeed did he know that any thing had been ſpent, that could have been well and ſafely ſaved.) He ſaid, thoſe expenſes would not ſuffer them to wonder, that the great ſupply, which they gave him for this war, in ſo bountiful a proportion, was upon the matter already ſpent; ſo that he muſt not only expect an aſſiſtance from them to carry on that war, but ſuch an aſſiſtance as might enable him to defend himſelf and them againſt a more powerful neighbour; if he ſhould prefer the friendſhip of the Dutch before his. He put them in mind, that, when he entered upon this war, he had told them, that he had not ſuch a brutal appetite as to make war for war's ſake; he was of the ſame mind, and he had been ready to receive any propoſitions that France had thought fit to offer to that end: but hitherto nothing had been offered worthy his acceptance, nor were the Dutch leſs inſolent, tho' he knew no advantage they had got but the continuance of the contagion, and he hoped that God Almighty would ſhortly deprive them of that encouragement. The chancellor at the ſame time, by the king's command, made a ſhort narrative of the hiſtory of the war, the circumſtances with which it was begun, and progreſs it had ſince made, and the victory that the duke had attained, of the vaſt number of the priſoners and ſick and wounded men, a charge that had never been

been computed. He told them that the French king had indeed offered his mediation, and that, if he intended no more than a mediation, it was an office very worthy the moſt chriſtian king: he wiſhed that as a mediator he would make equal propoſitions, or that he would not ſo importunately preſs his majeſty to conſent to thoſe he makes, upon an inſtance and argument that he held himſelf obliged by a former treaty (of which his majeſty had never heard till ſince the beginning of the war, and had ſome reaſon to have preſumed the contrary) to aſſiſt the Dutch with men and money, if his majeſty would not conſent. He ſaid his majeſty had told them that he had no appetite to make war for war's ſake, but he would be always ready to make ſuch a peace, as might be for his honour and the intereſt of his ſubjects: and no doubt it would be a great trouble and grief to his majeſty to find ſo great a prince (to whom he had manifeſted ſo great an affection) in conjunction with his enemies. Yet even the apprehenſion of ſuch a war would not terrify him to purchaſe a peace by ſuch conceſſions as he ſhould be aſhamed to make them acquainted with, of which nature they would eaſily believe the propoſitions hitherto made to be, when they knew the releaſe of Poleroon in the Eaſt-Indies, [and the demoliſhing the fort of Cabo Corſo on the coaſt of Guinea were two, which would be upon the matter to be contented with a very vile trade in the Eaſt-Indies under their controul, and with none in Guinea. And yet thoſe are not propoſitions unreaſonable enough to pleaſe the Dutch, which reproached France for interpoſing for peace, inſtead of aſſiſting them in the war, boldly inſiſting upon the advantage the contagion in London, and ſome other parts of the kingdom gives them, by which they confidently ſay,

the king will be no longer able to maintain a fleet againſt them at ſea. He told them that he had fully obey'd the command that had been laid upon him, in making that plain, clear, true narrative of what had paſſed; he had no order to make reflection upon it, nor any deduction from it. The king himſelf had told them, that the noble unparelleled ſupply they had already given him is upon the matter ſpent, ſpent with all the animadverſions of good husbandry, that the nature of the affair would bear: what was more to be done, he left to their own generous underſtandings, being not more aſſured of any thing that was to come in this world, than that the ſame noble indignation for the honour of the king and the nation, that firſt provoked them to inflame the king himſelf, would continue the ſame paſſion ſtill boiling in their loyal breaſts, that all the world may ſee, which they never hoped to have ſeen, that never prince and people were ſo entirely united in their affection for their true joint, inſeparable honour, as the only ſure, infallible expedient to preſerve their diſtinct ſeveral intereſts.

The king could not expect or wiſh a fuller concurrence from a parliament than he now found. With very little heſitation they declared that they would ſupply his majeſty with another million (ten hundred thouſand pounds) and becauſe they deſired to be diſmiſſed, as ſoon as might be, to their ſeveral habitations, not without apprehenſion that ſo great a concourſe of perſons from all places, even from London itſelf (for the term was likewiſe adjourned to Oxford) might bring the contagion thither likewiſe, they rejected all other buſineſſes, but what immediately related to the publick. To the ſupply they deſigned to the king, they added the ſum of about forty thouſand pounds, which they deſired his majeſty to confer upon the duke, having received ſome inſinuations

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that it would not be ungrateful to the king that ſuch a preſent ſhould be made to his brother. Then they paſſed two or three acts of parliament, very much for the king's honour and ſecurity; among which one was for the attainting all thoſe his ſubjects, who either reſided in Holland, as ſome of the Engliſh officers, who had long ſerved in that country, preſumed ſtill to do, and continued in their ſervice, or in any other parts beyond the ſeas, if they did not appear upon a day prefixed after notice by the king's proclamation; and the nomination of the perſons was entirely left to his majeſty. His majeſty did hope that this very good carriage in the parliament would have made ſome impreſſion upon France either to give over their mediation, or to have drawn reaſonable and juſt conceſſions from the States, but it did the contrary. The Hollander had received a new damage, which inflamed them exceedingly, which ſhall be particularly mentioned in the next place, whereupon they made grievous complaints to France of its breach of faith upon the promiſes that had been made to them. The king required his ambaſſadors once more to make a lively inſtance to his majeſty, that he would declare what he meant to inſiſt upon in order to a peace, which if he ſhould refuſe to do, they ſhould take their leaves and return into France with all poſſible expedition. In this audience they ſpake in an higher ſtyle, than they had formerly uſed. They complained of the intolerable damage the ſubjects of France had ſuſtained in their goods and eſtates by the king's ſhips, and thoſe who were licenſed by his authority, which without any diſtinction ſeized upon all that came in their way, as if they were Dutch: and when they complained to the admiralty, or to the lords commiſſioners, they could procure no juſtice, and were obliged to an attendance and expence,

that what they ſued for, did not prove of value to ſatisfy the charge of proſecution; and if after a long and tedious ſollicitation, they did at laſt procure a ſentence for the redelivery of what had been taken from them, when they hoped to enjoy the benefit of this juſt ſentence by the execution, they found their goods imbezzled in the port, or plundered by the ſeamen; that the owners had rarely a third part of their goods ever reſtored to them, and that by this violence and unjuſt proceeding, of which they had often made complaints, the French merchants had loſt near five hundred thouſand piſtoles, which their maſter reſented and looked upon as a great indignity to himſelf, which he had hitherto born, in hope that the licenſe would have been reſtrained by the end of the war. They urged it as an argument of their maſter's friendſhip to the king, that after an offenſive treaty had been ſo long ſince entered into by him; by which he was obliged to aſſiſt the Dutch with men, money and ſhips, he had notwithſtanding hitherto forbore it, and looked on, whilſt they were ſoundly beaten, and had lately ſuſtained another blow; and that it was not poſſible for him to defer it longer; and ſo concluded with very earneſt perſuaſions that his majeſty would conſent to ſuch a peace, as their maſter ſhould judge to be reaſonable, who could not but be very juſt to his majeſty, and wiſhed that it might be conſidered; beſides the damage by the plague, which no-body knew how long it might continue, how impoſſible it was for the king to ſuſtain the arms of France in conjunction to thoſe of Holland, when poſſibly ſome other prince might join likewiſe with them.

They who were appointed by the king to confer with the ambaſſadors, were moſt perplexed to juſtify their firſt charge of the depredation that had been made upon the French

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merchants, which had in truth been very great, tho' not amounting to the ſum they mentioned: yet to that they anſwered, that the firſt damage and loſs, which the ſubjects of France had undergone that way, had originally proceeded from themſelves and their own default in owning the goods and merchandizes of the Dutch to belong to themſelves as their proper goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver the wine and other goods, which were bought and paid for in France by the Hollanders, in French veſſels, into that country. All which had been fully and notoriouſly proved, and could not be contradicted; and when that diſcovery was once made, it was no wonder if the ſeamen ſometimes ſeized on ſome veſſels, which were not liable to the ſame reproach. But when any complaints of that kind had been made, the king had always given ſtrict charge to the judges to cauſe reſtitution to be made, and the tranſgreſſors to be ſeverely puniſhed, and his majeſty preſumed that the judges had done their duty. For the French king's being bound by his treaty to aſſiſt the Hollanders, they ſaid, that if the king had any ſuch obligation upon him, it was ſubſequent to his obligation to his majeſty, by which he was bound to make no ſuch treaty: nor in truth did they believe that he had entered into any ſuch treaty. For if it were only ſuch as they themſelves ſtated it to be, a defenſive league, it would neither engage nor excuſe France, in giving aſſiſtance to them, that had done the wrong, and begun the war; and therefore if the king was in truth bound to aſſiſt them, it muſt be from ſome offenſive, not defenſive clauſe. The ambaſſadors replied, that their maſter concluded, that the king was the aggreſſor, and then the defenſive article did oblige him, and they acknowledged there was no other. It was anſwered that the king

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had aſſumed a power to judge upon a matter of fact, of which he had taken no examination, and that it was a partiality not agreeable to the office of a judge to believe what the Dutch ſaid, and not to believe what the king ſaid, who had clearly publiſhed the true hiſtory of the fact; and that it was notorious and not poſſible to be denied, that they had refuſed to give up Poleroon according to their treaty, and that De Ruiter had begun the war in Guinea, before one of their ſhips had been ſeized on by the king. To which they replied, that their maſter thought otherwiſe, and did look upon the king as aggreſſor. When they were urged with the violation of the former obligation by entring into the latter, all the anſwer they gave was, that they knew nothing of it, and that they had commiſſion only to treat upon the preſent ſtate of affairs, and not upon what had paſſed long before: and ſo according to the character they underwent near fourteen hundred years ſince, Galli fidenti fidem fregerunt. The counſellors of the king told them, that their maſter had very well conſidered the diſadvantage he muſt undergo by the acceſs of ſo powerful a friend, and of whoſe friendſhip he had thought himſelf poſſeſſed, to the part of his enemies, who were too inſolent already; and therefore to prevent that diſadvantage, he had and would do any thing that would conſiſt with the dignity of a king: but that he muſt be laughed at and deſpiſed by all the world, if he ſhould conſent to make him the arbitrator of the differences, who had already declared himſelf to be a party; and that he is reſolved to make war againſt him on the behalf of his enemy; and that ſuch menaces would make no impreſſion in the laſt article of danger that could befall the king. The ambaſſadors took that expreſſion of menaces very heavily, as if it were a tax upon their manners;

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and ſaid they had never uſed words that could imply a menace; to which it was replied, that there was no purpoſe to make any reflection upon their perſons, who had always carried themſelves with great reſpect to the king, and who his majeſty believed did in their own particular affection wiſh him better than they did the Dutch. However the declaring that if the king did not do this or that, the French king would make war upon him, could in no language be looked upon to have any other ſignification than of a menace and threat: this raiſed a little warmth on both ſides, which made the conference break off at that time. The ambaſſadors prepared to be gone, and the king diſcerned clearly that there was no way to divert the French from an entire conjunction with the Dutch: and thereupon he aſſembled his ſecret council again, to conſult what ſhould be the final anſwer his majeſty ſhould give to the French ambaſſadors at parting. There was no perſon preſent, who had not a deep apprehenſion of the extreme damage and danger that muſt fall upon the king's affairs, if in this conjuncture France ſhould declare a war againſt England. It was well known, that the duke of Beaufort was forthwith to be at Breſt, where all the French ſhips were to aſſemble at their rendezvous by Chriſtmas; that he had already ſent to the biſhop of Munſter to diſſuade him from proſecuting his enterprize againſt Holland; and that probably he might unite Denmark again to the Dutch, and probably even allay thoſe warm inclinations, which the Swedes had for the king. It was well known that the French king had in the late diſtractions in Holland contributed very much to the compoſing them, and to the ſupport of the power and credit of DeWitt, who was the ſoul of the war; and that he had ſent him one hundred thouſand piſtoles,

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without which they would hardly have been able to have ſet out their laſt fleet under De Ruiter. And above all this, his giving life to ſome domeſtick rebellion in England and in Ireland, by ſending money to diſcontented perſons, was apprehended. For as there were enough diſcontented and deſperate perſons in the latter, who wanted only arms and money to declare for any prince who would take them into his protection, it was well known, that there was a general combination amongſt thoſe of the late army to have riſen, if the duke of York had been defeated at ſea; and that it was that victory that diſappointed that intended inſurrection. That there had been a later deſign in the very height of this diſmal ſickneſs and contagion in London, whither the fanatick party had repaired from all the quarters of the kingdom, and had appointed a day upon which the general ſhould be aſſaſſinated; which ſome ſoldiers of his own regiment had undertaken. And then the whole rendezvous to be in ſeveral ſtreets at the ſame time, which in ſo formidable a conjuncture might have ſucceeded to a great degree, if by God's bleſſing it had not been diſcovered two days before to the general, who cauſed ſome of the chief conſpirators to be apprehended, who ſuffered afterwards by the hands of juſtice. And yet the chief among them, colonel Danvers, who in ſpight of all the vigilance, that could be uſed, had been always ſearched for, and always concealed from the time of the king's return, being at this time apprehended and brought before the general, and by him ſent with a lieutenant and guard of ſoldiers to the tower, he was reſcued in Cheapſide, and ſo eſcaped; all the citizens looking on without aiding the officer. This was the proſpect that the king had of his condition and affairs in this conſultation, and therefore if any thing could have occurred, that might

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probably have diverted this ſtorm, it would no doubt have been embraced; but then the exceeding breach of faith in entering into that treaty, the denying it afterwards and concealing his engagement by it, ſo long after the war was entered into, which, if he had not done, the king could never have looked upon him as a fit mediator, the impoſſibility of depending upon any thing that ſhould be promiſed for the future, were convincing arguments againſt any ſuch reference of the conditions to his determination, as was propoſed, and was the only expedient, that was propoſed towards the making a peace. It was well known, that the chief councils of France, ſince Monſ. Colbert entered upon the miniſtry, had been directed towards the advancement of manufactures at home, by which they might have leſs need of commerce with their neigbours; and for the erecting a foreign trade abroad, with which they had been very little acquainted in former times; and it was juſtly to be feared, that where the judgment was left to them, they would imitate the infamous Roman precedent of adjuging that to themſelves, that was in difference between their neighbours, and left to their deciſion: and ſo both Poleroon in the Eaſt-Indies and Cabo Corſo in the Weſt, might be determined to belong to them, which might be rather apprehended by their having erected an Eaſt-India company, and a Weſt-India company, before they had any viſible foundation for a trade in either, to which both thoſe places might carry with them great conveniences.

Theſe conſiderations, being ſeriouſly reflected upon, with a little generous indignation to find himſelf thus treated, prevailed with the king to lay aſide all thoughts of further complying with France; and to reſolve to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors without any other anſwer, than what ſhould contain com-

plaints of the French king's want of kindneſs, which his majeſty had cultivated by all the offices he could perform ſince his reſtoration; which did not receive an equal return by the preferring the friendſhip of the Dutch before that of his majeſty: and with this anſwer the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with liberal preſents, and all gracious demonſtrations of eſteem of their perſons, and ſo returned for France, where they always gave juſt teſtimony of the civilities and fair treatment they had received. But this reſolution encreaſed the king's appetite to peace, and made him think of all other expedients that might contribute to it, and none ſeemed ſo hopeful, as that France and Holland might be divided, and he would have been very willing to have agreed with Holland upon any reaſonable conditions, that he might continue the war with France, which there were many reaſonable inducements to hope that it might be brought to paſs. It was notorious that preparations had been made for two or three years paſt by France at a very great expenſe upon the borders, that they might be ready to enter into Flanders, as ſoon as that news ſhould arrive of the king of Spain's death, and that war would immediately fall out, as ſoon as that king's deceaſe ſhould be known, and which from his age and infirmities muſt be expected every day. And in that caſe the friendſhip could not continue long with Holland, which thought that France was already too near neighbour to them, to be willing that they ſhould be nearer by a conqueſt of Flanders, which with its own force could not make an equal reſiſtance. It was likewiſe as notorious, that all the other provinces, Holland only excepted, did impatiently deſire the peace. And Holland had only been reſtrained from the ſame impatience by the ſole credit and authority of De Witt, and by his per-

perſuading them that France would aſſiſt them with men, money, and ſhips; and likewiſe declare a war againſt England, which (as hath been ſaid before) would produce a peace upon ſuch conditions, as would make it happy to them. And that, tho' it was true, that it had indeed aſſiſted them with ſome money, it was not conſiderable to their vaſt expences, nor in truth of importance incomparíſon of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and performed nothing. And it was evident that Holland itſelf was jealous of theſe proceedings, and even De Witt in his private diſcourſes to other miniſters ſeemed to be much unſatisfied with their breach of faith, and not to be without apprehenſion that they would in the end enter into a ſtricter alliance with England, and leave Holland as a prey to both. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, who always wiſh'd that the peace might be eſtabliſhed between the Engliſh and the Dutch, and that they would both join with Spain in a defenſive league, into which Denmark would be glad to enter, and Sweden might be drawn in upon the ſame conditions, which they now received from France, towards which he had often deſired the king to interpoſe, was now very glad that the French ambaſſadors had taken their leaves and were gone; and he pretended to have many aſſurances from the Spaniſh embaſſador at the Hague, that the Dutch had thoſe inclinations, which are mentioned before; and that De Witt would be glad to confer in private with any man truſted by the king, if he might be ſure that it ſhould not be communicated to France. Upon all theſe probabilities and the certainty that no good could be expected from France, his majeſty reſolved to embrace all opportunities to agree with Holland, towards which he

had a ſecret intelligence, to which he gave more credit, than to all the reſt, which ſhall be mentioned hereafter.

There were ſo many great tranſactions during the king's reſidence at Oxford, beſides what was done in the parliament and what related to the diſmiſſion of the French ambaſſadors, ſo many councils which were executed, and ſo many ſecret deſigns initiated then, and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a recollection of the occurrences of all that time. And if ſome things are mentioned, which ſeem too light and of too ſmall importance to have a place in this relation, they will be found at leaſt to be the riſe and principal ingredient to ſome council and reſolution, which proved afterwards of conſequence enough, as well to the publick as to particular perſons. The firſt attempt that was made, was to make a breach between the chancellor and the treaſurer, who had been long faſt friends, and were believed to have moſt credit with the king, and they, who loved neither of them, thought the moſt likely way to hurt them was to make them love one another leſs. Several attempts had been made upon the chancellor to that purpoſe without effect; he knew the other too well to be ſhaken in the eſteem he had of his friendſhip, and the knowledge he had of his virtue. But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an opportunity to ſuggeſt to the treaſurer, that the chancellor had failed in his friendſhips towards him. The occaſion was upon the vacancy of an office near the queen by the death of Mr. Montagu maſter of the Horſe to her majeſty, who had been killed before Bergen; and the news arriving with the duke at York, before it was known at Salisbury to the king, the duke and his wife wrote to the king and to the queen to confer that place upon his younger brother, who was now become both the

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eldeſt and the only ſon to his father the lord Montagu of Boughton; and the gentleman himſelf, on whoſe behalf the letters were wrote, came himſelf by poſt with them within two or three hours after the news was brought to Salisbury; and he brought likewiſe a letter from the ducheſs to the chancellor, to aſſiſt the gentleman all he could in his pretence; he at the ſame time enjoying the ſame office under the ducheſs that his brother had under the queen. The chancellor had never uſed to interpoſe in matters of that nature, nor had he any acquaintance with this gentleman, who was now recommanded, yet he could not refuſe to wait upon the queen, and ſhew the letter he had received without any intention to appear further in it. But when he waited upon the queen who had received her letter before, her majeſty ſeemed graciouſly diſpoſed to gratify the gentleman, if the king approved it; but that ſhe would make no choiſe herſelf of any ſervant without knowing firſt his majeſty's pleaſure; and ſhe added, that ſhe had been informed that the lord Montagu was very angry with his ſon, that was unfortunately ſlain, for having taken that charge in her family, and that he never allowed him any thing towards his ſupport: and if all other obſtructions were out of the way, ſhe would not receive him except ſhe were firſt aſſured, that his father would like and deſire it. Her majeſty vouchſafed to wiſh the chancellor to ſpeak with the king; and as dexterouſly as he could to diſpoſe him to recommend Mr. Montagu to her, as juſt and reaſonable, ſince his brother had loſt his life in his ſervice. This command of her majeſty obliged the chancellor to wait upon the king, and to ſhew him the letter he had received from the ducheſs, and at the ſame time the king gave him that, which he had from the duke, in which his highneſs deſired him, that if that place was not preſently conferred upon Mr. Montagu his majeſty

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would not diſpoſe of it, till he waited upon him. The chancellor told him that the queen gave no anſwer, but refer'd it entirely to his majeſty: and he ſaid he would never recommend any perſon to her, but ſuch a one as would be very grateful to her. He ſaid it would ſeem very hard to deny one brother to ſucceed another who was killed in his ſervice. He confeſſed that the lord Crofts had moved him on the behalf of Mr. Robert Spencer, of whom he had a good opinion; but that he had anſwered him, that he would do nothing in it, till he ſaw his brother, which reſolution he would keep. To which the chancellor made no reply, having in his own particular inclination and affection much more kindneſs for Mr. Spencer (of whoſe pretence he had never received the leaſt intimation before) than for the other with whom he had ſpoken very few words in his life. He told Mr. Montagu no more, but that which the king himſelf had told him, that he would not diſpoſe of the place till the duke ſhould arrive: only he added what the queen had ſaid of his father, and adviſed him to think of the way to remove that obſtruction: where upon he reſolved to make a journey to his father, which he know he might well do, before the king and his brother could meet.

The ſame night Mr. Spencer came to the chancellor, and brought him a letter from the treaſurer (whoſe nephew he was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the town the day before to a houſe of his own, twenty miles diſtant) to recommend his nephew to the queen, to whom and to the king he had likewiſe letters. The chancellor gave him an account of all that had paſſed, ſhew'd him the letter that he received from the ducheſs, and told him what the queen and the king had ſaid, and that it was not poſſible to do him ſervice; for which he was very ſorry: but adviſed him to deliver both his letters,

letters, and to attend their majeſties, who he was confident had yet taken no reſolution; with all which he was very well ſatisfied, and confeſſed that he could not expect that he ſhould appear for him. When he delivered his letters to both their majeſties, he received ſo gracious an anſwer from them both, that he might reaſonably think his ſuit to be granted, tho' the king told him he would not diſpoſe of the place, till he ſpake with his brother. And there is no doubt, but if the lord treaſurer had been in the town, when the news firſt came to the king of Mr. Montagu's death, which was a whole day before the arrival of the duke's letter, the king or queen would not have deny'd him his requeſt. Within a ſhort time after Mr. Spencer had left him, the lord Croſts who had married his ſiſter, and was governed by the lord Arlington, came to the chancellor, and deſired him to take care out of his friendſhip with the treaſurer, that the king might not refuſe to gratify him in this ſuit for his nephew, which was the firſt he had ever made; and if he ſhould be denyed it would exceedingly trouble him: that when he ſpake to the king of it, as ſoon as the news came, and told him he was ſure that the treaſurer would be a ſuitor to him for his nephew, his majeſty did promiſe him, that he ſhould have it, and that both their majeſties had as good as ſaid the ſame now to Robert Spencer; and therefore if he would now uſe his credit, the thing might be diſpatched preſently and without further delay. The chancellor asked him whether Mr. Spencer had informed him of all that had paſſed between them two. He ſaid yes, and that he had done all that the ducheſs had deſired him in ſpeaking both to the king and the queen, and that his friendſhip to the lord treaſurer ſhould prevail with him to uſe all his endeavours for his nephew; whereupon the chancellor ſhewed the ducheſs's letter,

letter; and repeated to him again all that he had formerly ſaid to Mr. Spencer; and asked him, what the duke and his wife might think of him, if inſtead of purſuing what they deſired he ſhould ſolicite quite contrary to it. He ſaid that he might tell them that he was engaged by the treaſurer, before he received their letter, and then talked paſſionately and indiſcreetly of the affront the treaſurer would think he received, if this were deny'd him; and that all the world would ſay that he might have compaſſed it, if he had not failed in his friendſhip. To which he made no other anſwer, than that the doing ſo baſe a thing as he deſired would more probably deſtroy that friendſhip with a man ſo punctual in honour and juſtice as the treaſurer was, than any thing that he had done, or ſhould leave undone. And adviſed him not to make the buſineſs worſe by his activity: and that if he had the king and queen's promiſes as he pretended, he might very well acquieſce till the duke came. However his very great indignation and preſumption made the thing much worſe, by delivering meſſages from the king to the queen, and from her majeſty to the king, that they both diſavow'd; and by his uſual diſcourſes that it ſhould now appear, who had the moſt credit with the king, the duke or the treaſurer; and how much the king would ſuffer if he diſobliged the treaſurer. All which was quickly tranſmitted by the intelligence that was every day ſent to York. On the other hand he ſtill adviſed the treaſurer to continue his importunity to the king and queen (a thing the moſt contrary to his nature) and aſſured him that it would be grateful to them, and was expected by them. Whereupon as ſoon as the treaſurer came to the court, which was not till the king came to Oxford, he went to both their majeſties, and renewed his ſuit to them with more warmth and concernment

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than was cuſtomary to them, and received ſuch an anſwer from both as very well ſatisfied him, and without doubt the king intended to perſuade his brother to deſiſt from preſſing him further on the behalf of the other, for whom he had no kindreſs. But the duke, who arrived by poſt the very next day, came in another temper than was expected. The intelligence from Salisbury of the conteſt that was for that place, and the inſolent behaviour and expreſſions uſed by the lord Crofts, had exceedingly moved him; and he looked upon the treaſurer as engaged to try who had the greateſt power, and in oppoſition to him. So that the ſame night that he came to town, when the king and he were in private, he complained of it with much warmth; and he beſought his majeſty importunately that he would declare, that the world might know who had moſt intereſt in his favour, he or the treaſurer. The king was ſo much put out of the method he intended to uſe in this affair, and knowing the expreſſions that the duke mentioned had been too often uſed by the lord Crofts, for which he had often reprehended him, that he preſently applied that remedy, which he thought moſt proper: and after conference with the queen ſigned the warrant for admitting Mr. Montagu into the office, who was ſworn the next morning. So that the firſt news the treaſurer heard, after both their majeſties had the day before ſaid all to him that he could deſire, was, that the place was already full, which he recceived with more commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a deſigned, contrived affront to expoſe him to contempt. And ſaid why would not the king, if he had changed his mind, after he left him, firſt ſend him word of it, that he might have known his purpoſe? All this ſtorm fell preſently upon the chancellor. The lord Crofts aſſured him that it had been done at Salisbury if he had not

hindered it, that he had been with the duke, before he ſpake with the king, and given him advice what tune he ſhould ſpeak in, which was uſed accordingly and had prevailed, and that when he came into the duke's chamber to kiſs his hand, his highneſs turned away and would not ſpeak to him, which muſt proceed from the influence of the chancellor. Whereas in truth the chancellor had only ſeen the duke in publick, and ſaid no more to him, than what he ſaid in publick, thinking it no good manners to trouble him with any private diſcourſe, when he was ſo weary of his journey: nor did he know that any thing was done in that affair, till the day after it was done, and after it was known to the treaſurer. Upon the whole matter, how unwilling ſoever he was to believe that he could be ſo groſly faulty to him, when he ſaw the chancellor next, his countenance was not the ſame it uſed to be, which the other taking notice of, asked him according to his uſual familiarity what the matter was; but received ſuch an anſwer as made him diſcern that there was ſome what amiſs: and ſo he ſaid no more. The other being the ſame day with the king, the duke came into the room, and in his looks manifeſted a diſpleaſure towards the treaſurer, which confirmed the former jealouſy of the chancellor, which was improved by ladies, who did not like their lodging, and thought it proceeded from want of friendſhip in him, who had the power over the univerſity, and might have aſſigned what lodgings he pleaſed to the treaſurer, and he had aſſigned this as the beſt houſe in the town for ſo great a family, and which their own ſervant had deſired as the beſt in the town as it was. When the chancellor diſcovered the ground of this alteration, he grew out of humour too, and thought himſelf unworthily ſuſpect-

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od; and ſo for two or three days the two friends came not together. And in that time the chancellor had enough to do, to inform the duke, who was not only very much offended with the treaſurer, but thought that he had been, out of his friendſhip to the treaſurer, more remiſs than he ought to have been in a buſineſs ſo earneſtly recommended by him and his wife: and the intelligence from Salisbury had made reflexions upon him, as much as upon the other; but his royal highneſs received information of all that had paſſed, and diſcerned the foul carriage of others, as well as of the lord Crofts, and was pleaſed to confeſs that he had done all he ought to do, and that he had been miſinformed of the lord treaſurer's part in that affair, which had made him think amiſs of him, which he would acknowledge to him, next time he ſaw him. After this, the chancellor having a more clear view, upon conference with the king and the duke, of this pernicious deſign, which in ſome degree had compaſſed it's end, if there grew a ſtrangeneſs between the treaſurer and him, went to him, and being together without any others, he told him it ſhould not be in his power to break friendſhip with him to gratify the humour of other people, without letting him know what the matter was, which he conjured him to impart to him, aſſuring him that he would find that nothing was more impoſſible, than that he could commit a fault towards him; and that they, who wiſhed well to neither of them, had contrived this ſeparation as the beſt way to hurt them both. And when he ſaw that he did not yet open himſelf, he told him, that he had heard that he had received ſome umbrage in the pretence of his nephew, and therefore he would give him an account of all that he know of it, which he did exactly, and concluded with a proteſtation, that he had not

known what had been done at Oxford, till after he came from him, when he obſerved the change of his countenance towards him, of the cauſe of which he could not then make any conjecture. The treaſurer thereupon with his uſual freedom told him, that if his part had been no other, than as he related, he thought himſelf obliged to give him a narration of all he had done, and of the grounds and motives he had to think, that he had failed in his friendſhip. And thereupon he mentioned the kindneſs and eſteem he had for his nephew who he thought in all reſpects of birth and breeding at leaſt as worthy of that relation, as the gentleman, who was poſſeſſed of it; and yet that ſince he was not upon the place, he had no mind to engage himſelf in the ſuit, and that when his nephew had given him an account of what the chancellor had ſaid to him, which he did with great ingenuity, and he knew that the duke of York appeared in it for another, he reſolved to proſecute it no further, untill the lord Crofts with all confidence aſſured him, that the king had promiſed him to confer the place upon Robert Spencer, and that both their majeſties expected, that he ſhould make it his ſuit, to the end that they might thereby decline the importunity that he expected from his brother. He told him of ſome expreſſions he had uſed to the king in that affair which the king himſelf had reported; and that when he took his leave of the queen to go to Oxford (which was the next day after Mr. Montagu came from York) he diſſuaded her majeſty from receiving Mr. Spencer, alledging ſome reaſons againſt it, which a lady, who was near, overheard and informed the perſon of it, who acquainted him with it; all which with the king and queen's ſo ample promiſes to him, ſo few hours before the conferring the place upon another, and the duke

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York's manner of receiving him, after he had been ſhut up with him as he was informed, might very well excuſe him for thinking he had ſome ſhare in the affront he had undergone. To which he replied, that if indeed he did believe all that he had been told, he could not but think ſo; but he ſaid he thought he had known him better, than to give credit to ſuch reports, and which muſt make him a fool and a knave, that for the words he ſhould have uſed to the king or the queen, there had nothing paſſed like it, to either of them; but that they were purely deviſed out of malice, which ſhould be manifeſt unto him; for he would not ſpeak a word of it to the king, till they were both with him together, and then he would ask before him what his carriage had been, and by his majeſty's ſuddain anſwer he might judge of the report: he told him then, how much he had ſuffered with the duke, and what excellent ſtories had been made to his royal highneſs of both of them, and of the good part the lord Crofts had acted, of which he was not without ſome evidence. After this eclairciſſement of the ſincerity, whereof every day adminiſtered new teſtimony, they both returned to their mutual confidence in each other: and they who contrived this former device, entered into a new confederacy, how they might firſt remove the treaſurer, which would facilitate the pulling the chancellor down, of which anon.

Within a ſhort time after the duke returned out of Yorkſhire, his highneſs told the chancellor in confidence, that he had two ſuits which he intended to make to the king, and with which he firſt acquainted him, that he might have his aſſiſtance in the obtaining them. The firſt was, in which he and his wife were equally engaged to prevail with the king to make Sir George Savile a viſcount; he

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ſaid he knew well the reſolution the king had taken, to which he had contributed his advice, to make no more lords; but that he hoped in this particular caſe, his majeſty would upon his deſire diſpence with a general rule, that Sir George had one of the beſt fortunes of any man in England, and lived the moſt like a great man; that he had been very civil to him and his wife in the north, and treated them at his houſe in a very ſplendid manner; and that he was engaged to prevail with the king in this point, or to confeſs he had no power; which he hoped he ſhould not be without in this matter, and asked him his opinion. The chancellor in his uſual freedom, which he always took, when he was to deliver his advice to the king or duke, ſaid, that he could not adviſe his highneſs to move the king in it, for beſides that he knew the king's poſitive determination, the departure from which might be of ill conſequence, Sir Geo. Savile was a man of very ill reputation amongſt men of piety and religion, and was look'd upon as void of all ſenſe of religion, even to the doubting if not denying that there is a God; and that he was not reſerved in any company to publiſh his opinions, which made him believe that it would neither be for his highneſs's honour to propoſe it, nor for the king to grant it, in a time when all licenſe in diſcourſe and in actions was ſpread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of very many good men, who had terrible apprehenſions of the conſequence of it. The duke was not at all pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and ſaid he was reſolved to uſe all his credit with the king to compaſs it, and that he hoped, that whatever he thought, he would not oppoſe it. The other particular was, that he would move the king to make Mr. Coventry (his ſecretary) a privy-councellor, and asked him

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what he thought of that, to which he anſwered, that his opinion in that point, would pleaſe him no better than in the former: that he did not think it fit to be asked, and if the king his brother were inclined to be jealous of him, as ſome had endeavoured to perſuade him, ſuch an inſtance as this would very much confirm it, for never any prince of Wales had a ſervant, of the higheſt degree about him, called to the council, till his father called the earl of Newcaſtle, who was the prince's governor, to the board, which was not till upon the approach of the troubles, he diſcerned that he ſhould employ him in another charge. That the members of that board had been always thoſe great officers and other officers, who in reſpect of the places they held, had a title to ſit there, and of ſuch few others, who having great titles and fortunes and intereſt in the kingdom were an ornament to the table. That there were at preſent too many already, and the number leſſened the dignity of the relation, that his highneſs had already brought the lord Berkeley thither, who had no manner of title to be there but his dependance upon him, and now to bring in his ſecretary for no other reaſon but being his ſecretary, might be thought an incroachment, and be miſinterpreted by the king. He added that his wrangling litigious nature would give the board much trouble, and that he knew him to be ſo much his particular enemy, that he would watch all the opportunities to do him all poſſible ill offices to the king and to his royal highneſs. The duke replied only to the laſt, and ſaid he perceived ſome body had done Will. Coventry ill offices, which he knew to be unjuſt and falſe, and that he could aſſure him upon his own knowledge, that he had a great reſpect for him, and deſired his favour, and that he would paſs his word for him, that he would never do any thing to differve him, which

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if he ſhould do, he ſhould for ever loſe his favour, which he knew well; and no doubt the duke did believe all he ſaid, for he had a perfect kindneſs for the chancellor, and when he did not comply with what he wiſhed, he knew that it was out of the integrity of his judgment, and his ſtrict duty to the king and himſelf, and that he never flattered or diſſembled with either of them, and Mr. Coventry had ſkill enough to perſuade him to believe, what he deſired, ſhould be true, tho' there were in the view of all men frequent inſtances of the contrary, and of the abſence of all ingenuity and ſincerity in his actions. Within a few days after this conference, and when the ducheſs had made new inſtance with her father in the caſe of Sir Geo. Savile and with more importunity than the duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled, that he ſhould not be more forward to comply with the duke's deſires, the chancellor, who always with the reſpect that was due to her quality, preſerved the dignity of a father very entire, would give no other anſwer than he had done to the duke, and adviſed her to diſſuade him from making the requeſt to the king. His highneſs one day deſired the king that he would retire into his cloſet, and call the chancellor to him, and when they were together in the room, after a ſhort diſcourſe of letters, which he dad received from the earl of Sandwich, which there will be occaſion anon to mention at large, the duke told the king he had an humble ſuit to his majeſty, and then ſpake much of the great intereſt Sir Geo. Savile had in the northern parts; of the greatneſs of his eſtate; and his orderly and ſplendid way of living; and concluded with his deſire, that his majeſty would create him an Engliſh viſcount. Upon which the king preſently put him in mind of the reſolution he had formerly made in that room,

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and he thought upon his own motion, he was ſure it had been with his concurrence and approbation. The duke replied that he remembered it very well, and thought he ſhould do well ſtill in the general to obſerve it, yet it was in thoſe caſes always ſuppoſed that an extraordinary caſe might fall out, that might produce an exception; and he did moſt humbly beſeech his majeſty that he would upon his very earneſt interpoſitions, from which no body could make a precedent, diſpenſe with the rule. He did confeſs that he was ſo confident of his majeſty's favour, that he had given Sir Geo. Savile cauſe to believe that he would prevail in that ſuit, which if he ſhould not do, he muſt be thought either not to have intended what he promiſed, or to have no credit with his majeſty, neither of which would be for his honour. The king replied roundly, and with more preſence of mind than he had always about him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to be very preciſe in the obſervation of the rule, which if he ſhould once break, a world of inconveniencies would break in upon him, which he could not defend himſelf againſt. He named two or three perſons, who were very ſollicitous for honours, and had ſeveral pretences to it: and his majeſty had only been able to reſiſt and evade their importunity by objecting this declared reſolution to them. The plain truth is, he had made ſome promiſe (a weakneſs he was too often liable to) to thoſe perſons or to their friends, that when he ſhould make any new creations, they ſhould be ſure to be in the number; nor did he apprehend any inconvenience from redeeming himſelf from the preſent importunity, which was ſtill grievous to him, ſince he had reſolved to make no new creation; and this was the true reaſon that made him now ſo inexorable to his brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any thing

else in so unlucky a season, not without some apprehension from the king's quicker way of discourse, that he had been prepared for it by the chancellor; who tho' present had not spoke one word in the debate; nor indeed ever informed the king of the conference his highness had formerly held with him upon that subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it. However in this perplexity, as the duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. Coventry, who had principally advanced this pretence, all that had passed before the king; that his nephew (for so Sir Geo. Savile was) might see he could make no further progress in it; so in the passion he unwarily told him all that had passed in the former conference with the chancellor; which he took care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it; and the duke to shew how willing he was to oblige the family immediately received a younger brother of Sir Geo. Savile, whom he had only seen in the North, to wait upon him in his bedchamber; who being a young man of wit, and incredible confidence and presumption omitted no occasion to vent his malice against the chancellor, with a license that in former times would have been very penal, tho' it had concerned a person of a much inferior quality in the state. Within a short time after the king told the chancellor, that his brother had desired him that his secretary Mr. Coventry might be admitted of the privy-council, which he could not deny; but had promised it should be done at the next meeting; which was accordingly done; and he knighted, and quickly after, upon the like desire of the duke, he was called to that committee, with which his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs: and from this time there was an alteration in the whole carriage and debate of all manner of business; and as the chancellor had found his own credit

with the king much diminished from the time of the lord Arlington's being secretary, so a greater decrease of it was now visible to all men from the accesse of his new councellor. The lord Arlington had not the gift of speaking, nor of a quick conception, and so rarely contradicted any thing in council: his talent was in private, where he frequently procure, dvery inconveniently, changes and alterations from publick determinations. But Sir William Coventry (between whom and the other there was an entire conjunction and combination) was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or submission to the age, experience, or dignity of other men; equally censorious of what had been done before he was a councellor, as sollicitous in contradiction of whatsoever was propoced afterwards; in somuch as the very first time that he was admitted to the private committee, the debate being about providing money to be paid at a day approaching, to the bishop of Munster, according to the king's obligation, he said, we had need enough of money for our own immediate occasions; and that we ought not to assign any to the advancement of the affairs of other men; whereupon he was informed of the treaty the king had entered into, and that the bishop was at that time upon his march; which was by every body looked upon, as of great importance to his majesty. To which he answered, that he had heard somewhat of it, how secretly soever it had been carried, and that he had never liked it from the beginning; nor would give his consent that any more money should be paid towards it; which the king himself looked upon as a rare impudence. His great ambition was to be taken notice of, for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was propoled or said by the chancellor or treasurer, towards whom all other councellors, how little

ſoever they cared for their perſons; had ever paid reſpect in regard of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itſelf: and any thing paſſed under the great ſeal of England was of no more authority with him, than if it were the ſcroll of a ſcrivener. He had no principles in religion or ſtate; of one mind this day, and another to morrow; and always very uneaſy to thoſe who were obliged to conſult with him; whoſe pride and inſolence will adminiſter frequent occaſions of mention throughout the enſuing relation.

The king had not been many days in Oxford, when news arrived that the earl of Sandwich had been engaged in ſome conflict with the Dutch fleet; of the particulars whereof there was a general longing to be advertiſed. The truth was, that whilſt the earl rode after the buſineſs of Bergen, as near that coaſt as was ſafe, in expectation of the Dutch fleet, the winds which are always tempeſtuous in that ſeaſon of the year, September, made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to remove with his whole fleet to the coaſts of Holland, where there were harbours enough for him to ride ſafe: and in this interval of time De Ruiter was paſſed by towards that of Norway. The news of their Indian fleet having been attacked by the Engliſh in Bergen; and the letters of ſome of their officers, which implyed, as if they were not ſatisfy'd in the ſecurity of the port; and of the fidelity of the governor; produced a wonderful conſternation in Holland: and if they ſhould be deprived of that wealth, the very company of the Eaſt-Indies would be in danger of being diſſolved. The fleet was ready to ſet ſail under the command of De Ruiter well fitted and manned: but there were ſtill ſo many factions amongſt the captains and other officers, that might upon any accident produce many

miſchiefs, for the prevention whereof the penſionary De Witt was willing to venture his own perſon, believing himſelf to be as ſecure any where as on ſhore, if any misfortune ſhould befal the fleet: and ſo he was by a ſpecial commiſſion made plenipotentiary with a ample allowance for his table, and a guard of halbardiers for the ſafety of his perſon, with an good train of volunteers, and ſo he put himſelf on board the ſhip of De Ruiter, who received orders from him. The earl of Sandwich, after he had received advertiſments of the Dutch fleet being paſſed by for Norway, took all the care he could to put himſelf and his fleet in the way of their return. They made a ſhort ſtay on the coaſts of Norway, where upon good conſideration their ſhips were diſmiſſed, and loud clamour raiſed againſt the hoſtility of the Engliſh. And notwithſtanding all the vigilance the earl could uſe, the darkneſs and length of the nights ſo favoured them, that he could not engage their whole fleet, as he endeavour-to do: yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their great ſhips of war, two of their beſt Eaſt-India ſhips, and about twenty of their other merchant ſhips, which were all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been; after which he was by tempeſt driven to put the fleet into ſecurity in Engliſh harbours, it being already the month of October. It was a fair booty, and came very opportunely to ſupply the preſent neceſſities of the navy, and to provide for the ſetting out of the next fleet at ſpring, and was in truth gotten with very good conduct and without any conſiderable damage. But it being much leſs than was expected, for whatſoever was upon the ſea was looked upon as our own, the news no ſooner arrived at Oxford, but intelligence came with it of many overſights which had been committed, and opportunities loſt; otherwiſe

it had been eaſy to have taken the whole fleet; and that it might have been purſued further when it was in view, after thoſe Eaſt-India ſhips were taken; which were indeed ſurprized and boarded at the break of day, when they thought themſelves in the middle of their own fleet; and it is as true that the earl did then purſue to engage the fleet, till they were got ſo near the French ſhore, that the wind blowing into the land, it was by all the flag officers thought abſolutely neceſſary to give over the chaſe. Sir Will Coventry, who had never paid a civility to any worthy man, but as it was a diſobligation to another whom he cared leſs for, and ſo had only contributed to the preferment of the earl of Sandwich in the laſt expedition, that he might croſs prince Rupert, received much intelligence from ſeveral officers in the fleet, which he ſcatterrd abroad to the prejudice of the earl; and was willing that it ſhould be believed, that he had been too wary in avoiding danger. But the king and the duke were very juſt to the earl, and diſcountenanced all theſe reports as ſcandals and calumnies; and the duke, who had ſeen his behaviour in the moſt dangerous action gave him a loud teſtimony of a prudent and brave commander; and as forward and bold in the face of danger, as the occaſion required, or diſcretion permitted; and his highneſs undertook that he had in all his expedition done what a man of honour was obliged to do; and was abundantly ſatisfied as his majeſty likewiſe was, with the rich prizes he had brought home, which had cauſed equal lamentation in Holland, and almoſt broke the heart of De Witt himſelf. But what ſucceſs ſoever the earl had at ſea, it was his misfortune to do an unadviſed action, when he came into the harbour, that leſſened the king's own eſteem of him, and to a great degree irreconciled the duke

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to him, and gave opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

It was a conſtant and a known rule in the admiralty, that of any ſhip, that is taken from the enemy, bulk is not to be broken till it be brought into the port, and adjuged lawful prize. It ſeems that when the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the earl of Sandwich, in regard oft their having continued all the ſummer upon the ſeas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would diſtribute amongſt them ſome reward out of the Indian ſhips, which he thought reaſonable, and inclined to ſatisfy them, and wrote a letter to the vice-chamberlian to inform the king of it; and that he thought it fit to be done: to which the vice-chamberlain having ſhewed the letter to the king, returned his majeſty's approbation. But before the anſwer came to his hand, he had executed the deſign, and diſtributed as much of the coarſer goods to the flag-officers, as by eſtimation was valued to be one thouſand pounds to each officer, and took to the value of two thouſand pounds to himſelf. This ſuddainly made ſuch a noiſe and outcry as if all the Indian and other merchant ſhips had been plundered by the ſeamen: and they again crying out as much, that no care was taken of them, but all given to the flag-officers, which the other captains thought to be an injury to them. The general, who had nothing like kindneſs for the earl of Sandwich (whoſe ſervice he thought had been too much conſidered and recompenſed by the king at his arrival) had notice of it, before it came to Oxford; and according to his univerſal care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private animoſity) ſent orders to all the port-towns to ſeize upon goods, which were brought in ſhallops from the fleet: and gave advertiſement

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to Oxford of the extraordinary ill conſequence of that action, and that it would ſpoil the ſale of all that remained of thoſe ſhips, ſince the Eaſt-India company, which probably would have been the beſt chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, ſince ſo much was diſpoſed of already to other hands, as would ſpoil their market. And by this time the earl himſelf had given an account of all that had been done, and the motives to the duke. The king was juſtly diſpleaſed for the expedition he had uſed. Why had his approbation been deſired, when he reſolved to do the thing, before he could receive an anſwer? and was glad, that he had done ſo, becauſe he would have been more excuſable, if he had received it. But the duke, who had been conſtantly kind to the earl, was offended in the higheſt degree, and thought himſelf injured and affronted beyond any precedent: this moſt unjuſtifiable action could proceed only from two fountains; the one of extreme vanity and ambition, to make himſelf popular amongſt the officers of the fleet, who ought not to have been gratified by him at the king's charge: when any bounty ſhould be ſeaſonable it was the duke's province to have been the author and the conducter to have convey'd it, he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs of their behaviour in their greateſt action; and for the earl to aſſume the rewarding them by his own authority, was to defraud and rob him of his proper right and juriſdiction: and he looked upon his having deſired the king's allowance by the vice-chamberlain as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice as his ſuperior officer; and the poor vice-chamberlain underwent his ſhare in the reproach for having preſumed to move the king in a particular, that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the duke. The other fountain, which might produce this preſumption,

might

might be avarice, which was the ſole blemiſh (tho' it never appeared in any groſs inſtance) that ſeemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the irreſiſtible ſtrength and power of envy, which tho' it feeds on its own poiſon, and is naturally more grievous to the perſon who harbours it, than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a ſubject it can effectually work upon, it is more inſatiable in revenge, than any paſſion the ſoul is liable to. He was a gentleman of ſo excellent a temper and behaviour, that he could make himſelf no enemies: of ſo many good qualities and ſo eaſy to live with, that he marvaillouſly reconciled the minds of all men to him, who had not intimacy enough with him to admire his other parts: yet was in the general inclinations of men upon ſome diſadvantage. They who had conſtantly followed the king, whilſt he as conſtantly adhered to Cromwell, and knew not how early he had entertained repentance, and with what hazards and dangers he had manifeſted it, did believe the king had been too prodigal in heaping ſo many honours upon him: and they who had been familiar with him and of the ſame party, and thought they had been active in contributing to the revolution, conſidered him with ſome anger, as one who had better luck than they, without more merit, and who had made more early conditions, when in truth no man in the kingdom had been leſs guilty of that addreſs, nor did he ever contribute to any advancement, to which he arrived by the leaſt intimation or inſinuation that he wiſh'd it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this blaſt, the winds roſe from all quarters, reproaches of all ſorts were caſt upon him, and all affronts contrived for him: the earl had convey'd that part of the goods, which he had aſſigned to himſelf, in a ſhallop to Lynn, from whence it could paſs

by water to his own houſe. An officer in that port ſeized upon it by virtue of the general's warrant, and would cauſe it preſently to be unladen, which he begun to do, but the ſervants of the earl appealed to the other officers in equal authority, to whom they brought a letter with them from the earl of Sandwich, in which he owned all thoſe goods to be his, amongſt which were his bedding and furniture for his cabin, and all his plate, and other things ſuitable, and likewiſe a note of all the other goods which might be liable to pay cuſtom, and deſired them to ſend one of their ſearcher, with the boat to his houſe, where he ſhould receive all their dues, without being unladen in the port, which beſides the delay would be liable to many inconveniences. The officer who had firſt arreſted it, and who had a dependance upon a great man of the country, who was not unwilling that any affront ſhould be put upon the earl, roughly refuſed to ſuffer it to paſs without being firſt unladen; but being overruled by the other officers vented his anger in very unmannerly language againſt the earl, of all which he being advertized by his ſervants ſent a complaint to the lords of the council, and deſired the fellow might be ſent for and puniſhed, which could not be refuſed, tho' it proved troubleſome in the enquiry: for the officer, who was a gentleman of a fair behaviour and good repute deny'd all thoſe words, which carried in them the worſt interpretation, but juſtified the action, and produced the general's warrant, which had unuſual expreſſions, and apparent enough to have a particular not a general intention. The general had quick advertiſement of it, and wrote very paſſionately from London, that an officer ſhould be ſent for, without having committed any other offence than in obeying and executing a warrant of his, and the other great man, who was of great

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portance to the king's ſervice, and in the higheſt truſt in that country, wrote ſeveral letters how impoſſible it would be to carry on the king's ſervice in that country, if that officer ſhould be puniſhed for doing that, which he ought to be puniſhed, if he had not done, and therefore deſired that he might be repaired by them, who had cauſed him to be ſent for. Sir Will. Coventry had now full ſea-room to give vent to all his paſſions, and to incenſe the duke, who was enough offended without ſuch contributions; if this proceeded from covetouſneſs, it was not probable that it could be ſatisfied with ſo little, and therefore it was probable, that tho' the officers might not have received above the value of one thouſand pounds, which was aſſigned to each, yet himſelf would not be contented with ſo little as two thouſand, and they might therefore well conceive, that he had taken much more, which ought to be examined with the greateſt ſtrictneſs. There had been nothing ſaid before upon not taking advantage enough upon the enemy in all occaſions which had been offered, and of not purſuing them far enough, which were not now renewed, without advice that he might be preſently ſent for, tho' it was known, that as ſoon as he could put the ſhips into the ports to which they were deſigned, he would come to Oxford; and there were great underhand endeavours that the houſe of commons might be inflamed with this miſcarriage, and miſdemeanour, and preſent it as a complaint to the houſe of peers, as fit to be examined and brought to judgment before that tribunal. And they who with all the malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this fire, perſuaded the king and the duke, that by their ſole activity and intereſt it was prevented for that time; becauſe the ſeſſion was too ſhort, and that all neceſſary evidence could not be ſoon produced at Oxford;

but that it was reſolved, as ſoon as the plague ſhould ceaſe to ſuch a degree in London, that the parliament might aſſemble there; it would be impoſſible to reſtrain the houſe of commons from purſuing that complaint, of which no body thought but themſelves, and they who were provoked by them.

The earl of Sandwich had ſo good intelligence from Oxford, that he knew all that was ſaid of him, and begun to believe that he had done unadviſedly to adminiſter occaſion of ſpeaking ill to thoſe who greedily ſought for it, and as ſoon as his abſence from the fleet could be diſpenſed with he made haſte to Oxford, and gave ſo full an account of every day's action from the day that he went to ſea to the day of his return, and of his having never done any thing of importance; nor having left any thing undone; but with and by the advice of the council of war, upon the orders he had received, that both the king and the duke could not but abſolve him from all the imputation of negligence or inadvertency. But for the breaking bulk and the circumſtances that attended it, they declared they were unſatisfied; and he confeſſed that he had much been to blame, and asked pardon, and with ſuch excuſes as he thought might in ſome degree plead for him: he proteſted it ſeem'd to him to have had ſome neceſſity, that the whole fleet was in a general indiſpoſition, and complained that for all that ſummer action, which indeed had been full of merit, they had nothing given to them, not without ſome muttering that they would have ſomewhat out of thoſe India ſhips, before they would part with them, in ſomuch as he had a real apprehenſion that they had a purpoſe to plunder them, and he ſhould have feared more, if he had not complied with the flag officers importunity; and thereupon he conſented,

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that they ſhould have each of them the value of one thouſand pounds, and which he was moſt confident, that the goods, which had been delivered to them did not exceed. He confeſſed he had not enough conſidered the conſequence, and that they, who had not received any donative, would be more diſpleaſed, than they who had it, were ſatisfied with it; which he acknowledged was the caſe; that he was heartily ſorry for permitting any ſuch thing to be done, and more for having taken any himſelf, and humbly begged pardon for both, and that his own part which remained entire, might be reſtored to the ſhip, from whence it had been taken, which he would cauſe to be done. A more ingenuous acknowledgment could not be made; and they, who could not but obſerve many perſons every day excuſed for more enormous tranſgreſſions, did hope that he who had ſo few faults to anſwer for, would have been abſolved for that treſpaſs, and the king received him very graciouſly and ſo did the duke; and he was ſent back to the fleet, to give order for the ſending out a winter guard, and ordering all other maritime affairs, and for ſending up the Indian ſhips into the river, with great care that none of the ſeamen ſhould go on ſhore, where the plague ſtill raged little, if at all, leſs, than it had done in the ſummer, and ſo he himſelf, and moſt other men believed and were glad that an ill buſineſs was ſo well compoſed. But Sir Will. Coventry did not intend that it ſhould end there; the preſent buſineſs that muſt admit no interruption was the raiſing what money might be to ſupply the preſent neceſſities of the fleet, to pay the ſeamen, and to make all preparations to ſet out the fleet againſt the ſpring, when the French ſhips would be infallibly ready to join with the Dutch; and the money, that was given by the parliament would not be paid till long after: and the affairs of the

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bankers were in ſuch diſorders by the death of ſervants, and the plague having been in ſome of their houſes, that the uſual courſe of advancing moneys by aſſignations could not be depended upon. The general had written to the lord treaſurer, that he thought, that there could not be ſo good chapmen for thoſe ſhips as the Eaſt-India company, ſome whereof had been with him to know the king's pleaſure, and if authority were granted to any men to treat upon that affair, they would ſend for members enough of their company, who were diſperſed in the country, to be preſent at a court, which would authorize a committee to treat and contract with them: and he ſaid, that he was confident, that half the money would be paid upon making the bargain. The king was no ſooner advertiſed of this overture, than he ſent Sir George Carteret and Mr. Aſhburnham to London to confer with the general, and to be adviſed by him, and granted authority to them three to ſell all thoſe prizes to thoſe who would give moſt, and they found no overtures to be ſo advantageous, as thoſe which were made by that company: and yet they made ſo much uſe of the advantage of the time, when all men of notorious wealth were out of the town, that they thought not fit to make any agreement till they gave the king an account of the whole tranſaction, with their opinions upon conference with other men of buſineſs; and to that purpoſe the two perſons, who had been ſent to the general, returned ſafe to Oxford.

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great preſumption in any body to preſume to interpoſe in the maritime affairs, which was interpreted to be an invaſion of the duke's peculiar privilege, and by this means the credit of Sir Will. Coventry was ſo abſolute, that the diſpoſal of all was in his power. He had perſuaded the duke, and the lord Arlington,

ton, who was in firm conjunction with him had prevailed with the king to believe that the houſe of commons was ſo incenſed againſt the lord Sandwich for his late preſumption, that it would not be poſſible to hinder them in their next aſſembling, which was appointed or reſolved to be in April, if it pleaſed God to extinguiſh the ſickneſs, to fall very ſeverely upon the earl of Sandwich, which would be a very great diſhonour to the king if he were at that time in the command of the fleet, and that there was no way to preſerve him (for that was their method when they had a mind to ruin a man, to pretend a great care that he might not be undone) but by dimiſſing him from that charge, which probably might preſerve him from being further queſtioned, ſince it would be interpreted as inflicted on him by the king for his crime, and ſo might ſtop him from being further proſecuted for the ſame offence; to which they added, that it would be neceſſary in another reſpect, for that many of the officers as well as common ſeamen had opened their mouths very wide againſt him, eſpecially after it was generally known that the king and the duke were offended with him, and had not been at all reſerved in charging him with many reproaches: and that if the ſame command were ſtill continued in him, it could not be preſumed that thoſe men would ever put themſelves under his command, whom they had ſo much provoked. Theſe arguments urged by men, who were not known by the king and the duke to be his enemies; and one of them thought to be, and in truth was; but for his conjunction with the other, his friend; and to wiſh him very well, prevailed upon the judgement of both of them; in ſomuch as they reſolved to confer with the chancellor, who they knew to be much the earl's friend; and they both expreſſed very much kindneſs to, and confidence

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in the affection, and integrity, and courage of the earl of Sandwich, tho' he was to be blamed for his late indiſcretion; and their reſolution with their utmoſt power to defend him from undergoing any diſgrace by it: but that it would contribute moſt to his preſervation that he quitted the employment, and that ſome other perſons ſhould be ſent to command the next fleet in the ſpring; for if he ſhould again go to ſea, and the parliament ſhould preſs to have him ſent for, to anſwer what they had to object againſt, his majeſty muſt either refuſe to conſent to it, which would make a breach with his parliament or by conſenting diſorder his maritime affairs to that degree, that the enemy could not but take very great advantage of it. Therefore they commanded the chancellor to confer with him, and diſcourſe the whole matter to him, and ſecure him of the king's and duke's favour ;and that they were in this particular moved only by their tenderneſs to him and that ſome expedient ſhould be firſt found out to remove him with honour, before any notice ſhould be taken of the purpoſe to remove him ; and before any other perſon ſhould be deputed to the command ; and that he himſelf ſhould either propoſe the expedient, if any ſuch occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that ſhould be propoſed to him. The chancellor did preſume to declare, that he thought that they were perſuaded to apprehend ſomewhat, that could not fall out; that he would not take upon him to excuſe the earl of Sandwich for any offence he had committed; if it were of that magnitude, that his majeſty thought fit to remove him from his command, nobody could cenſure it; and it may be in a time of ſomuch licenſe, the ſeverity might be thought ſeaſonable. But the apprehenſion that the parliament would take more notice of what the earl had done, than they would of any other breach of order that was every day committed

mitted, was without any juſt reaſon; but that argument was preſently ſilenced by their undertaking to know ſomewhat that the other could not do, and there was no other way to preſerve, but that which was propoſed. There was at that time an opportunity in view, that might give the earl of Sandwich an employment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be aſſigned to any man, who was in diſgrace. Sir Richard Fanſhaw, who was a gentleman very well known, and very well beloved, had been firſt ambaſſador in Portugal, and had behaved himſelf ſo well there, that when he returned from thence, he was recommended, and upon the matter deſired by that crown to be ſent to Spain, as the fitteſt perſon to mediate in the king's name between Spain and Portugal: and the king had before deſigned to ſend him ambaſſador into Spain, as well to ſettle a treaty between England and Spain (for there was none yet) as to do all the offices between thoſe other crowns, which were requiſite to the ends aforeſaid. No man knew that court, or was ſo well verſed in the language, having lived many years before in that court in much better times: he had remained now about two years with ſuch frequent mortifications, as miniſters uſe to meet with in courts irreſolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the council of Madrid were in the laſt years of the king, as his indiſpoſition increaſed, or by relaxing adminiſtered ſome hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earneſt deſire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace was equally deſired and equally neceſſary to both nations; but Portugal unmoveable in the conditions of it, preferring the worſt that could fall out, even the abandoning their country, rather than to be without ſovereignty of it: and the Spaniard as poſitive not to part with their title, tho' they had no hope of their ſubjection; nor did Spain appear ſolici-

tous to conclude any treaty with England, except either Portugal might be comprehended in it, or abandoned by it. On a ſudden, when the recovery or long continuance of the king grew more deſperate, which is never a thing notoriouſly known in that court, a project for a treaty was ſent to the ambaſſador, containing more advantages in trade to the nation, which are the moſt important matters in all thoſe treaties, and inſiſting upon fewer inconvenient conditions, than had ever been in any former treaties, without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty ſince the king's return made the progreſs impoſſible: only it was urged, that it might be either preſently accepted and ſigned by the ambaſſador, with a covenant that it ſhould be confirmed by the king within ſo many days after it ſhould be preſented to him, or elſe that there ſhould be no more mention or diſcourſe of it. The ambaſſador ſurprized with this overture compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his inſtructions, and what was defective in thoſe particulars, he added to the articles preſented to him, with ſuch additions, as upon his own obſervation and conference with the merchants occurred to him, or which ſeemed probable to be granted from ſomewhat themſelves had offered more than had been demanded by him. Theſe alterations and amendments were approved and conſented to, quickly returned engroſſed and ſigned by the king, on condition to be preſently ſigned by him, with the undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wiſely done by the ambaſſador, and no more than his duty, if he had firſt acquainted his maſter or the miniſters with all that had paſſed, and expected a particular order before he had ſigned it; but that being expreſly refuſed without concealing the reaſon, or the king's weakneſs,

neſs, which they declared might make ſuch an alteration in councils, that if it were not done in his life time, they knew not what might happen after. This was thought as good an argument by him for the diſpatch, as it was to them, and that if he ſhould not make uſe of this conjuncture, there would never the like advantageous treaty be offered again. Hereupon he preſently ſigned the treaty, with ſome ſecret articles, which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwiſe than that he concluded by what had been ſaid to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them. This treaty was no ſooner brought to the king by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had received it by an expreſs, and peruſed at the council-table; but many groſs faults were found to be in it: beſides the gentleman's abſence, who would with greater abilities have defended himſelf, than any of thoſe had, who reproached him. It was no advantage to him, that he was known to be much in the chancellor's confidence, and therefore the more pain was taken to perſuade the king that he was a weak man, which the king himſelf knew him not to be; and put ſuch a gloſs upon many of the articles, and rejected others as unprofitable, which were thought to contain matters of great moment, as they would not conſent that a trade to the Weſt-Indies could be any benefit to England, and the like. In the end the king concluded that he would not ſign the treaty, for which he had ſome acceſs of reaſon within a month after by the death of the king of Spain: when all thoſe reproaches were caſt upon the ambaſſador, and notice given that the king did diſavow the treaty, and refuſed to ſign it, it was reaſonably reſolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambaſſador, but to be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London, and diſperſing the council, the purſuing this reſo-

ſolution was no more aſſumed till the buſineſs of the earl of Sandwich made it thought on as a good expedient: and the chancellor was directed in his diſcourſe with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced.

The chancellor entered upon the whole diſcourſe with that freedom and openneſs that became a man, who he knew was not ſuſpected by him: he told him all that himſelf knew of the affair; and the apprehenſion the king had of the parliament, and the expedient he had thought of, to remove him out of the reach and noiſe of clamour, of which he made him the judge: and if he did not like this for Spain, ſome other ſhould be thought of, and publiſhed before it ſhould be known that the command of the fleet ſhould be committed to any other. The earl of Sandwich lamented, that it had been in any body's power to make ſo ill impreſſions in the king and the duke upon his having committed a treſpaſs for which he was heartily ſorry; and confeſſed it was a preſumption and indiſcretion, the ill conſequence whereof he had not wit enough to diſcover. However he did not yet think it ſo great as to make him fear to give an account of it before the parliament or any thing that they could do upon it. He ſeemed not to be ignorant of the offices Sir Will. Coventry did him, in drawing complaints and reproaches from thoſe who had neither cauſe nor inclination to ſpeak to his diſavantage: he was ſenſible of the general's want of juſtice towards him, which he knew not to what to impute but to his pride and weakneſs; he did acknowledge it great bounty in the king ſince he thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the command he had, that he would yet aſſign him to ſo honourable an employment, which tho' it could not wipe off the reproach

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of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his majesty good opinion and confidence: and therefore he did with all chearfulness submit to his majesty's pleasure, and would be ready for his journey to Spain, as soon as his dispatch should be prepared: he told him then that he was in one respect glad to be removed from his present command; for he was confident that he would see no more great matters done at sea; for that the common men were weary of the war; and that Sir William would never suffer any peace to be in the fleet; but had creatures ready to do all ill offices amongst them, whom he cherished and preferred before the best officers; and told him many other things, which fell out afterwards, and said Sir William would make any man, who should succeed him, weary of his command, by sending such variety of orders that he would not know what to do: and shortly after he gave him a perfect journal of his last expedition, in which there were indeed many orders, which must needs startle and perplex a commander in chief; it being his usual course to signify the duke's pleasure in matters of the greatest importance without the duke's hand, which yet they durst not disobey, nor produce in their own justification; being such as in truth were no such warrants as they ought to obey; and yet would reflect upon his royal highness, and told him likewise of the ill inventions he had set on foot, by which prince Rupert was stoped from being joined with him in the command of the last fleet. When the chancellor had informed the king of the earl of Sandwich's submission to his pleasure, and that he would be ready to undertake the employment for Spain as soon as his majesty pleased, hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to

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correct and amend the miſtakes and errors in the late treaty; and further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in ſome reſpects more practicable; and to that purpoſe he ſent Sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people, and all inſtructions neceſſary were preſently to be prepared to both thoſe ends.

The firſt work being thus diſpatched, it remained to ſettle the command for the enſuing year of the fleet, and there can be little doubt, but that the king and the duke had reſolved this at the ſame time that they determined that the earl of Sandwich ſhould not continue in it: however it was communicated to no body, till the deſignation of the other was publiſhed; when the king told the chancellor that his brother and he had long conſidered that affair, and could not think of any expedient ſo good for the performance of that ſervice as a conjunction between prince Rupert and the general; and making them both joint commanders in chief of the fleet for the next expedition. There had many exceptions occured to them againſt committing the charge to either of them ſingly; nor were they without apprehenſion of ſome which might fall out by joining them together; which would be much greater, if they were not both well prepared to embrace the occaſion, and themſelves to like the deſignation. For the doing this the chancellor was again thought to be the fitteſt man, being believed to have the greateſt intereſt in both of them; and moſt in him, from whence the greateſt difficulties were expected to ariſe, which was prince Rupert. It was eaſy to know prince Rupert's mind, who was in the houſe; yet they were both in caſes of that nature deſirous always

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to impart what they desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves; but then the general was at London besieged by the plague; and the matter was not fit to be communicated by letter, because if he should make any scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined. Upon these considerations it was resolved first, that the chancellor should prepare prince Rupert; and then that the general should be sent for to Oxford upon pretences, of which enough would occur. The prince, tho' he was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the king's pleasure, and so both the king and the duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted; and the general was sent to, that it was necessary for the king to confer with him upon some propositions, which were made to him upon the East-India ships, which transaction was not at that time, yet concluded, and therefore that on such a day, he should come from London early in the morning, for it was deep winter, in his own coach to Beconsfield, where he should find another coach ready to receive him, and another at another stage, so that he might be with ease at Oxford the same night, as he was, and very graciously received by the king, as he deserved to be. But as he had no manner of imagination of the true reason, why he was sent for, so neither his majesty, nor the duke would impart it to him, out of real imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that he had great confidence. He the next morning entered into conference with him, and after general discourses told him, that the king had disposed the earl of Sandwich to another employment, for which he did not seem sorry, and that it must be now thought

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of, who was fit to command in his place; that there was no hope of peace, inſtead whereof there would be an entire conjunction between France and the Dutch; and that the French fleet (the ambaſſadors being about this time gone) would be ready to join with them as ſoon as they ſhould put to ſea; and there was much doubt, that the Dane would betake himſelf to the ſame alliance, and all would be at ſea before we ſhould be, except extraordinary diligence were uſed, which the continuance of the plague would hardly admit. The general preſently anſwered, that no perſon was ſo fit for that command as prince Rupert, who underſtood the ſeas well, and had that courge that was neceſſary in this conjuncture. The chancellor told him that the king had great confidence in the affection and unqueſtionable courage of prince Rupert; but he was not ſure, that the quickneſs of his ſpirit, and the ſtrength of his paſſion might not ſometimes ſtand in need of the advice and aſſiſtance of a friend, who ſhould be in equal authority with him, and had therefore thought of finding ſome fit perſon to be joined with him, and to make an admiral of two perſons: to which the other not replying ſuddenly, he continued his diſcourſe, ſaying that the king had ſuch a perſon in view, whom he would never acquaint with it, until he might find ſome way to diſcover that the propoſing it would not be ungrateful to him, and that he was obliged to make this diſcovery; and that the perſon in the king's view was himſelf; and that if he and prince Rupert were joined in the command of the fleet and undertook it, his majeſty would believe that he had done all that was in his power, and would with great hope commit all the reſt to God Almighty: he ſaid, he thought he had behaved himſelf moſt like a friend, in telling him ſhortly and plainly what the king's

king's drift was, towards which, tho' the ſecret was known to none but the duke of York, yet ſuch an advance was made that his majeſty was well aſſured that prince Rupert would readily comply with his pleaſure. Upon the whole matter he deſired him to deal as like a friend with him, and to tell him freely, if he had no mind to the employment, and he would take upon him to prevent the making the propoſition to him, and that neither the king or duke ſhould take it unkindly: the general appeared really ſurprized and full of thoughts; and after a ſhort pauſe he deſired him not to believe that he made the leaſt difficulty in his thoughts of undertaking the ſervice; but many things had occurred to him in the diſcourſe, which he would mention anon: he ſaid that for his own part, he ſhould be willing to go out of London to mortow, and think himſelf much ſafer in any action againſt the Dutch, than he could be in the poſt he was, where every day men died about him and in his view; and as he thought that he had done the king better ſervice, by ſtaying in London, than he could have done in any other place; ſo he believed, if the ſickneſs ſhould continue (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little diſcreaſe) his majeſty might think that his preſence might be as neceſſary there as it had been. The chancellor replied that his majeſty had foreſeen that contingency, and had already reſolved that if that fell out to be the caſe, he ſhould rather deſire that his reſidence ſhould be where it had been (tho' he was much troubled to expoſe him to ſo much hazard) than in any other place; but that his majeſty's confidence in the mercy of God, that he would take off this heavy viſitation before the end of winter, had ſuggeſted the other deſignation of him to the ſervice of the fleet, upon the good conduct

whereof his own and the kingdom's happineſs ſo much depended. The general quickly replied that for that matter he was ſo willing to engage himſelf, that, if the king pleaſed, he would moſt readily ſerve under the command of prince Rupert; to which the other anſwered as readily that the king would never conſent to that; and ſo they reſolved preſently to go to the king, that his majeſty and the duke might know what would pleaſe them ſo much; and as they were going, the general ſaid ſmiling, that he would tell him now, what the true cauſe was, that had made that pauſe in him upon the firſt diſcourſe of the buſineſs, and that it would be neceſſary for him, after all things ſhould be adjuſted with the king and duke and prince Rupert, that, what concerned him, ſhould ſtill remain a ſecret, and prince Rupert be underſtood to have that command alone; for if his wife ſhould come to know it, before he had by degrees prepared her for it, ſhe would break out into ſuch paſſions, as would be very uneaſy to him; but he would in a ſhort time diſpoſe her well enough: and in the mean time nothing ſhould be omitted on his part that was neceſſary for the advancement of the ſervice. Hereupon the king, the duke, the prince, and the general, conſulted of all that was to be done: and he at the end of two days returned to London with the ſame expedition that he came to Oxford, together with Sir Geo. Carteret the treaſurer of the navy and all orders that were requiſite for the ſale of the Eaſt-India ſhips, upon which all proviſions for the fleet were to be made.

Tho' the parliament at Oxford had preſerved that excellent harmony, that the king had propoſed, and hardly wiſhed any thing in which they had not concurred, in ſo much as never parliament ſo entirely ſympatized with his majeſty and paſſed more acts for his honour and ſecurity, than any other had ever done in ſo ſhort a ſeſſion; yet it introduc-

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ed a precedent of a very unhappy nature, the circumſtances whereof in the preſent were unuſual and pernicious, and the conſequences in the future very miſchievous, and therefore not unfit to be ſet out at large. The lord Arlington and Sir Will. Coventry, cloſely united in the ſame purpoſes, and eſpecially againſt the Chancellor, had a great deſire to find ſome means to change the courſe and method of the king's councils, which they could hardly do whilſt the ſame perſons continued ſtill in the ſame employments. Their malice was moſt againſt the chancellor, yet they knew not what ſuggeſtions to make to the king againſt him, having always pretended, to his majeſty, how falſely ſoever, to have a great eſteem of him. Their project therefore was to remove the treaſurer, who was as weary of his office and of the court, as any body could be of him; but his reputation was ſo great, his wiſdom ſo unqueſtionable, and his integrity ſo confeſſed, that they knew in neither of thoſe points he could be impeached. And the king himſelf had kindneſs and reverence towards him, tho' he had for ſome years thought him leſs active and ſo leſs fit for that adminiſtration, than every body elſe knew him to be: and thoſe men had long inſinuated unto him, how ill all the buſineſs of the exchequer was managed by the continual infirmities of the treaſurer, who between the gout and the ſtone had not eaſe enough to attend the painful function of that office; but left the whole to be managed and governed by his ſecretary Sir Philip Warwick, upon whoſe experience and fidelity he did in truth much rely, as he had reaſon to do, his reputation for both being very ſignal and univerſal: and towards faſtening this reproach, they had the contribution of the lord Aſhley, who was good at looking into other men's offices and was not pleaſed to ſee Sir Phil. Warwick's

credit greater than his with the treaſurer, and his advice more followed: and the other two had craftily inſinuated to him, that he would make much a better treaſurer, which whilſt he thought they were in earneſt, prevailed with him, not only to ſuggeſt materials to them for that reproach, but to inculcate the ſame to the king upon ſeveral occaſions. But when he diſcovered that they intended nothing of advantage to his particular, he withdrew from that intrigue, tho' in all other particulars he ſided with them. The king was too eaſy in making aſſignations upon his revenue, which would make it uncapable to ſatisfy others, which were more neceſſary, and to grant ſuits by leaſe or farm (ſometimes to worthy men) which were of miſchievous conſequence to all the meaſures which could be taken: and thoſe the treaſurer found himſelf obliged to ſtop, and commonly upon informing the king of it, and of his reaſons, his majeſty was very well pleaſed with what he had done: and as hath been ſaid before, did often give himſelf eaſe from the importunity of many by ſigning the warrants they brought to him, in confidence that either the chancellor or treaſurer would not ſuffer them to paſs. However it raiſed clamour and there were men enough, who had the ſame provocation, to make a great noiſe; and they eaſily found countenance from others, who deſired it ſhould be believed, that it was a high arrogance and preſumption in any ſubject to ſtop any ſignature of the king; and ſo make his majeſty's grace and bounty to be ineffectual, if his approbation and conſent was not likewiſe procured. There was viſibly great want of money, tho' there were vaſt ſums of money raiſed, which they laboured to perſuade the king proceeded from the unskilfulneſs or unactivity of the treaſurer, who was again tired with the vexation and indignity

when he had ſo frequently preſented the king with the particulars of the receipts and diſburſements, and made it demonſtrable how much his expences exceeded all his income, and how impoſſible it would be without leſſening thoſe to provide wherewithall to ſupply. But this was an ungracious ſubject, and opened more mouths, than could eaſily be ſtopped. There was a man, who hath been often named, Sir Geo. Downing, who having been ſome years in the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer, and being of a reſtleſs brain, did underſtand enough of the nature of the revenue, and of the courſe of the receipts to make others, who underſtood leſs of it, to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients, which ſhould be propoſed by him towards a reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable; and he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were leſſened by the aſſignations made to the bankers upon the receipts themſelves without the money's ever paſſing thro' the teller's offices; by which tho' they did receive their juſt fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had paſſed thro' their own hands. He was a member of parliament, and a very voluminous ſpeaker, who would be thought wiſer in trade, than any of the merchants, and to underſtand the myſtery of all profeſſions much better than the profeſſors of them; and ſuch a kind of chat is always acceptable in a crowd, where few underſtand many ſubjects, and are always glad to find thoſe put out of countenance, who thought they underſtood it beſt, and ſo were much pleaſed to hear Sir Geo. Downing inveigh againſt the ignorance of thoſe, who could only ſmile at his want of knowledge. This gentleman was very grateful to Sir Will. Coventry, as well as to lord Arlington, and was ready to inſtruct them

in all the miscarriages and overflights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. The root of all miscarriage was, the unlimited power of the lord treasurer, that no money could issue out without his particular direction, and all money was paid upon no other rules than his order: so that let the king want as much as possible, no money could be paid by his, without the treasure's warrant, which to men, who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. But he said if there were such a clause inserted into the bill, which was to be passed in the house of commons for money, it might prevent all inconveniences; and the king's money would be paid only to those persons and to those purposes to which his majesty should assign them; and no more money would be presently advanced upon this act of parliament than the credit of the bankers could procure; for he foresaw that it would be a very natural objection against his clause, and the method he proposed.

He made his discourse so plausible to them, that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends, that they neither did nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most sollicitous, that there might no obstructions arise in the way, if it should come to the knowledge of the chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it: and if the treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it, for the indignity his office was subjected to. They therefore discoursed it to the king as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his majesty of the many benefits, which would accrue to his service by his new method that he had divised,

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and the many miſchiefs, which would be prevented. There were ſo many things, which were ſuggeſted, that were agreeable to ſome fancies, that the king himſelf had entertained; there would not need ſo many formalities, as warrants and privy-ſeals before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter iſſue out and be paid without the treaſurer's privity, in which many conveniencies ſeemed to appear; tho' beſides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many miſchiefs unforeſeen, there were very great inconveniences in view in thoſe very particulars, which they fancied to be conconveniences. But it was enough that the king ſo well liked the advice upon conference with them three, that he reſolved to communicate it with no others, but appointed that when the bill for ſupply ſhould be brought into the houſe, it being to be, as was ſaid before, for the ſum of at the commitment, Downing ſhould offer that proviſo, which had been drawn by himſelf and read to the king and the other two: and becauſe it was foreſeen, that it would be oppoſed by many of thoſe, who were known to be very affectionate to the king's ſervice, they had all authority privately to aſſure them, that it was offered with the king's approbation. Againſt the time that the bill was to be brought in, they prepared the houſe by many unſeaſonable bitter invectives againſt the bankers, called them cheats, bloodſuckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches, which can be caſt upon the worſt men in the world, and would have them looked upon, as the cauſes of all the king's neceſſities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom. All which was a plauſible argument as all invectives againſt particular men are, and all men, who had faculties of depraving and of making ill

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things appear worſe than they are, were eaſily engaged with them. The bankers did not conſiſt of above the number of five or ſix men, ſome whereof were aldermen, and had been lord mayors of London, and all the reſt were aldermen, or had ſined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had riſen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money paſſed through the hands of the ſcriveners. They were for the moſt part goldſmiths, men known to be ſo rich, and of ſo good reputation, that all the money would be truſted or depoſited in their hands. From the time of the king's return, when tho' great and vaſt ſums were granted, yet ſuch vaſt debts were preſently to be paid; the armies by land and ſea to be preſently diſcharged, the money that was to be collected in ſix and ſix months would not provide for theſe preſent unavoidable iſſues: but there muſt be two or three hundred thouſand pounds gotten together in a few days, before they could begin to diſband the armies, or to pay the ſeamen off: the deferring whereof every month increaſed the charge to an incredible proportion. None could ſupply theſe occaſions but the bankers, which brought the king's miniſters firſt acquainted with them; and they were ſo well ſatisfied with their proceeding, that they did always declare that they were ſo neceſſary to the king's affairs, that they knew not how to have conducted them without that aſſiſtance. The method of proceeding with them was thus: as ſoon as an act of parliament was paſt, the king ſent for theſe bankers, for there was never any contract made with them but in his majeſty's preſence; and being attended by the miniſters of the revenue, and commonly the chancellor and others of the council, the lord treaſurer preſented a particular infor-

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mation to the king of the moſt urgent occaſions for preſent money; either for diſbanding troops, or diſcharging ſhips, or ſetting out fleets, all which are to be done together, and not by parcels, ſo that it was eaſily foreſeen what ready money muſt be provided: and this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told that the king had occaſion to uſe ſuch a ſum of ready money within ſuch a day, they underſtood the act of parliament, and ſo might determine what money they could lend the king, and what manner of ſecurity would beſt ſatisfy them. Whereupon one ſaid, he would within ſuch a time pay one hundred thouſand pounds, another more, and another leſs, as they found themſelves provided; for there was no joint ſtock amongſt them, but every one ſupplied according to their ability. They were deſirous to have eight in the hundred, which was not unreaſonable to ask; and the king was willing to give: but upon better conſideration among themſelves they thought fit to decline that demand, as being capable of turning to their diſadvantage; and would leave the intereſt to the king's own bounty, declaring that themſelves paid ſix in the hundred for all the money with which they were intruſted, which was known to be true. Then they demanded ſuch a receipt and aſſignment to be made to them by the lord treaſurer, for the payment of the firſt money that ſhould be payable upon that act of parliament; or a branch of that act, or tallies upon the farmers of the cuſtoms or excife, or ſuch other branches of the revenue as was leaſt charged, having the king's own word and the faith of the treaſurer, that they ſhould be exactly complied with: for let the ſecurity be what they could deſire, it would ſtill be in the power of the king or of the lord treaſurer to divert what was aſſigned to them to other purpoſes. There-

fore there is nothing surer, that the confidence in the king's justice, and the unquestionable reputation of the lord treasurer's honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit, which supplied all his majesty's necessities and occasions: and his majesty always treated those men very graciously as his very good servants; and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men, and in this manner for many years after his majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the publick expences were carried on, it may be with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expences: and no-body opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal.

The sollicitor-general brought in the bill for supply, according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be: and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Dowing offered his proviso, the end of which was, to make all the money, that was to be raised by this bill, to be applied only to those ends to which it was given, which was to the carrying on the war, and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what authority soever, with many other clauses in it so monstrous, that the sollicitor and many others, who were most watchful for the king's service declared against it, as introductive to a common wealth, and not fit for monarchy. It was observed, that the assignment of the money that was given by act of parliament to be paid in an other manner, and to other persons than had been formerly used, tho' there wanted not plausible pretences, was the beginning of the late rebellion, and furnished the parliament with money to raise a rebellion, when the king had none to defend himself,

ſelf, which had made Cromwell wiſe enough never to permit any of thoſe clauſes, or that the impoſitions, which were raiſed, ſhould be diſpoſed to any uſes, or by any perſons, than by himſelf and his own orders: and by ſuch and other arguments, which the contrivers had not foreſeen, the proviſo had been abſolutely thrown out, if Sir Will. Coventry and Downing had not gone to the ſollicitor, and others, who ſpake againſt it, and aſſured them that it was brought in by the king's own direction, and for purpurpoſes well underſtood by his majeſty; upon which they were contented that it ſhould be committed; yet with direction that ſuch and ſuch expreſſions ſhould be reformed and amended. In the afternoon the king ſent for the ſollicitor and forbad him any more to oppoſe that proviſo, for that it was much for his ſervice, and when he would inform him of many miſchiefs, which would inevitably attend it, ſome were of thoſe which he had no mind to prevent, being to leſſen their power, who he thought had too much, and the other he cared not to hear, and ſaid only that he would bear the inconveniences which would enſue upon his own account for the benefits which would accrue, and which it was not yet ſeaſonable to communicate, with other members of the houſe of commons, who he thought not to be ſo able to diſpute it with him; he enlarged more in diſcourſe, and told them, that his encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with intereſt ſo certain and fixed, that there could be no ſecurity in the kingdom like it, when it ſhould be out of any man's power to cauſe any money that ſhould be lent to morrow, to be paid before that, which was lent yeſterday; but that all ſhould infallibly be paid in order, by which the exchequer (which was now bankrupt, and without any

credit) would be quickly in that reputation, that all men would depoſite their money there; and that he hoped in few years by obſerving the method he now propoſed, he would make his exchequer the beſt and the greateſt bank in Europe, and where all Europe would, when it was once underſtood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they ſhould receive their money, and with this diſcourſe the vain man, who had lived many years in Holland, and would be thought to have made himſelf maſter of all their policy, had amuſed the king and his two friends, undertaking to bring the king's exchequer into the ſame degree of credit, that the bank of Amſterdam had; the inſtitution whereof he undertook to know: and from thence to make it evident, that all ſhould be tranſplanted into England, and all nations would ſooner ſend their money into the exchequer, than into Amſterdam, Genoa, or Venice: and it cannot be enough wondered at, that this intoxication prevailed ſo far, that no arguments would be heard againſt it. The king had upon theſe notions, and with the advice of thoſe councellors in his own thoughts, new modelled the whole government of his treaſury; in which he reſolved to have no more ſuperiour officer: but this was only reſerved within his own breaſt, and not communicated to any, but with thoſe who deviſed the project; without weighing that the ſecurity for monies ſo depoſited in banks, is the republick itſelf, which muſt expire before that ſecurity can fail, which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's ſole word can cancel all thoſe formal proviſions, which can be made; as hath ſince been too evident by vacating thoſe aſſignations which have been made upon that and the like acts of parliament for ſuch time, as the preſent neceſſities have made counſellable, which would not then be admitted to be poſſible: and

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ſo without any more oppoſition, which was not grateful to the king, that act paſſed the houſe of commons, with the correction only of ſuch abſurdities, as had not been foreſeen by thoſe who framed the proviſo, and which did indeed croſs their own deſign, and ſo it was ſent from the commons to the houſe of peers for their conſent.

Bills of that nature, which concern the raiſing of money, ſeldom ſtay long with the lords but as of cuſtom, which they call priviledge: they are firſt begun in the houſe of commons, where they endure long deliberation; ſo when they are adjuſted there, they ſeem to paſs thro' the houſe of peers with the reading twice and formal commitments, in which any alterations are very rarely made, except in any impoſitions which are laid upon their own perſons; for which there are uſually blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the amendment or alteration that is commonly made by the lords; ſo that the ſame engroſſment that is ſent up by the commons, is uſually the bill itſelf that is preſented to the king for his royal aſſent. Yet there can be no reaſonable doubt made, but that thoſe bills of any kind of ſubſidies, as exciſe, chimney money, or any other way of impoſition, is as much the gift and preſent from the houſe of peers, as it is from the houſe of commons; and is no more valid without their conſent, than without the conſent of the other; and they may alter any clauſe in it, that they do not think for the good of the people. But becauſe the houſe of commons is the immediate repreſentative of the people, it is preſumed that they beſt know what they can bear, or are willing to ſubmit to, and what they propoſe to give is proportionable to what they can ſpare; and therefore the lords uſe nor to put any ſtop in the paſſage of ſuch bills, much leſs diminiſh what is offered by them to the king. And

in this parliament, the expedition that was uſed in all buſineſs out of fear of the ſickneſs, and out of an impatient deſire to be ſeparated, was very notorious: and as ſoon as this bill of ſupply was ſent to the lords, very many members of the houſe of commons left the town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do, for it was generally believed, that at the paſſing that act with the reſt, which were ready, the king would prorogue the parliament. Yet the it worthy a very ſerious deliberation, and uſed not their cuſtomary expedition in the paſſing it. It happened to be in an ill conjuncture, when the terrible cold weather kept the lord novelty in this act ſo ſurprized the lords, that they thought treaſurer from going out of his chamber for fear of the gout, of which the chancellor laboured then in that extremity, that he was obliged to remain in his bed; and neither of them had received information of this affair. Many of the lords came to them and advertiſed them of this new proviſo, ſome of them went to the king to let him know the prejudice it would bring on him; and cenſured the ill hand that had contrived it. The lord Aſhley, who was chancellor of the exchequer, and had been privy in the firſt cabal, in which this reformation was deſigned, whether becauſe he found himſelf left out in the moſt ſecret part of it, or not enough conſidered in it, paſſionately inveigh'd againſt both publickly and privately, and according to the fertility of his wit and invention found more objection againſt it, than any body elſe had done, and the conſequences to be more deſtructive, with which he ſo alarmed the king, that his majeſty was contented, that the matter ſhould be debated in his preſence: and becauſe the chancellor was in his bed, thought his chamber to be the fitteſt place for the conſultation: and the lord treaſurer tho' indiſpoſed and apprehenſive

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of the gout, as he could yet uſe his feet, was very willing to attend his majeſty there, without the leaſt imagination that he was aimed at in the leaſt: the king appointed the hour for the meeting, where his majeſty with his brother was preſent, the chancellor in his bed, the lord treaſurer, the lord Aſhley, the lord Arlington, and Sir Will. Coventry, the attorney-general, and the ſollicitor were likewiſe preſent, towards any alterations which ſhould be fit to be made, and Sir Geo. Downing likewiſe attended, who the king ſtill believed would be able to anſwer all objections, which could be made. The chancellor had never ſeen the proviſo which contained all the novelty, for all the other parts of the bill were according to the courſe, and the treaſurer had read it only an hour or two before the meeting. The lord Aſhley therefore, who had heard it read in the houſe of peers, and obſerved what that houſe thought of it, opened the whole buſineſs with the novelty and ill conſequence that muſt inevitably attend it; all which he enforced with great clearneſs and evidences of reaſon, and would have enlarged with ſome ſharpneſs upon the adviſers of it; but the king himſelf ſtopped that, by declaring that whatſoever had been done in the whole tranſaction of it, had been with his privity and approbation, and the whole blame muſt be laid to his own door, who it ſeems was like to ſuffer moſt by it: he confeſſed he was ſo fully convinced in his own underſtanding, that the method propoſed would prove to his infinite advantage, and to the benefit of the kingdom, that he had converted many in the houſe, who had diſliked it, and that ſince it came into the houſe of peers, he had ſpoken with many of the lords, who ſeemed moſt unſatisfied with it: he was confident he had ſo well informed many of them that they had changed their

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opinion, and would be no more againſt that proviſo. However he confeſſed that ſome remained ſtill obſtinate againſt it; and they had given ſome reaſons, which he had not thought of; and which in truth he could not anſwer: he wiſhed therefore that they would apply themſelves to the moſt weighty objections that were in view, or which might probably reſult from thence, and think of the beſt remedies, which might be applied by alterations and amendments in the houſe of lords, which he doubted not the commons would concur in. The firſt objection was the novelty, which in caſes of that nature was very dangerous, remembering what hath been mentioned before of the beginning of the late rebellion, by putting the money to run into another channel, than it had uſed to do; and that when once ſuch a clauſe was admitted in one bill, the king would hardly get it left out in others of the ſame kind hereafter: and ſo his majeſty ſhould never be maſter of his own money, nor the miniſters of his revenue be able to aſſign monies to defray any caſual expences of what nature ſoever; but that upon the matter, the authority of the treaſurer and chancellor of the exchequer muſt be inveſted in the tellers of the exchequer, who were ſubordinate officers, and qualified to do nothing, but by the immediate order of thoſe their ſuperiour officers: and tho' there are four tellers in equal authority, yet Sir Geo. Downing would in a ſhort time make his office the ſole receipt, and the reſt receive no pay but by his favour and conſent. The king had in his nature ſo little reverence or eſteem for antiquity, and did in truth ſo much contemn old orders, forms and inſtitutions, that the objections of novelty rather advanced than obſtructed any propoſition: he was a great lover of new inventions, and thought them the effects of wit and

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ſpirit, and fit to controul the ſuperſtitious obſervations of the dictates of our anceſtors; ſo that objection made little impreſſion: and for continuance of the ſame clauſe in future bills, he looked for it as neceſſary in order to the eſtabliſhment of his bank, which would abundantly recompenſe for his loſs of power in diſpoſal of his own money; and tho' it was made appear by many ſolid arguments, that the imagination of a bank was a meer chimera in itſelf; and the erecting it in the exchequer muſt ſuppoſe that the crown muſt be always liable to a vaſt debt upon intereſt, which would be very ill husbandry; and that there was great hope, that after a happy peace ſhould be concluded, and care ſhould be taken to bring the expences into a narrower compaſs, the king might in a ſhort time be out of debt, yet all diſcourſe againſt a bank was thought to proceed from pure ignorance; and Sir George was let looſe to inſtruct them how eaſy it was to be eſtabliſhed, who talked imperiouſly of the method by which it came to be ſettled by the induſtry of very few perſons, when the greateſt men deſpaired of it as impracticable; yet the obſtinacy of the other prevailed, and it was now become the ſtrength, wealth, and ſecurity of the ſtate. That the ſame would be brought to paſs much more eaſily here, and would be no ſooner done, than England would be the ſeat of all the trade of chriſtendom: and then aſſuming all he ſaid to be demonſtration, he wrapped himſelf up, according to his cuſtom in a miſt of words, that no body could ſee light in, but they, who by often hearing the ſame chat thought they underſtood it.

The next objection was againſt the injuſtice of this clauſe, and the ill conſequence of that injuſtice, the neceſſities of the crown being ſtill preſſing, and the fleet every

day calling, money had been borrowed from the bankers upon the credit of this bill, as ſoon as the firſt vote had paſſed in the houſe of commons for ſo conſiderable a ſupply; and the treaſurer had made aſſignments upon ſeveral branches of the revenue, which had been preſerved and deſigned for the army and the immediate expences of the king and queen's houſhold and the like unavoidable iſſues, upon preſumption that enough would come in from this new act of parliament, to be replaced to thoſe purpoſes, before the time, that would require it, ſhould come; but by this proviſo eſpecial care was taken, that none of the money that ſhould be raiſed ſhould be applied to the payment of any debt contracted before the royal aſſent was given to the bill; ſo that both the money lent by the bankers upon the promiſe made to them muſt be unpaid and unſecured; and the money, that had been ſupplied from other aſſignations muſt not be applied to the original uſe; by which the army and houſhold would be unprovided for: the inconvenience whereof had no need of an enlargement, beſides that the bankers had the king's word, and the engagement of the miniſters of the revenue, that all new bills of ſupply ſhould ſtill make good what former ſecurities were not ſufficient to do; as by this heavy viſitation of the plague, the aſſignations, which had made been upon the exciſe and chimney-money, and by the decay of trade, that the war and ſickneſs together had produced, the aſſignations made upon the cuſtoms had brought in ſo little money, that the debt to the bankers, which but for thoſe obſtructions might by this time have been much abated, remained ſtill very little leſs than it was very near a year before: and when it ſhould be known that this ſum of money, that was to be raiſed, was exempt from the payment of any of thoſe and

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the like debts, it would be a great heart-breaking to all thoſe, who had not only lent all their own eſtates, but the whole eſtates of many thouſands of other men, to the king, and muſt expect to be called upon by all who have truſted them for their money, which by this invention they have no means to pay: and for the future let the neceſſities be what they will, that the crown may be involved in, there is no hope of borrowing any money, ſince it is not in the power of the king himſelf to make any aſſignment upon this new impoſition. Very much of this had been ſo abſolutely unthought of by the king, that he was very much troubled at it; and he had in his own judgment a juſt eſteem of the bankers, and looked upon any thing that they ſhould ſuffer, as hurtful to himſelf, and a great violation of his honour and juſtice. But it was plain enough that the principal deſign of the contrivers was, to prejudice the bankers; nor did they care what ruin befel them; and ſo talked looſely and bitterly of their cozeningthe king, and what ill bargains had been made with them; tho' it was made manifeſt that no private gentleman in England did upon any real or perſonal ſecurity borrow money, but conſidering the brokage he pays, the often renewing his ſecurity, it coſt them yearly much more than the king pays to the bankers. They ſlighted what was paſt as ſufficiently provided for, and for the future undertook that the king ſhould never more have need of the bankers; for that this act would be no ſooner paſt but upon the credit of it money would be poured into the exchequer, faſter than it could be told; and when they were told that expectation would deceive them, and that great ſums would not come in, and ſmall ſums would do hurt, becauſe they would but ſtop up the ſecurity from giving ſatisfaction to others; becauſe whatever was firſt

paid in, muſt be firſt paid; all which was anſwered confidently, that vaſt ſums were ready to their knowledge to be paid in as ſoon as the bill was paſt, which fell out as was foretold, for after ten or twenty thouſand pounds were delivered in by themſelves and their friends to ſave their credit, there was no more money like to come, and that that ſum did more harm than good by interrupting the ſecurity. But notwithſtanding all their anſwers, the king remained unſatisfied in many particulars, which he had not foreſeen, and wiſhed that the matter had been better conſulted; and confeſſed that Downing had not anſwered many of the objections, and wiſhed that alterations might be prepared to be offered in the houſe of peers, as amendments, and tranſmitted to the commons without caſting out the proviſo, the foundation and end of which ſtill pleaſed him for thoſe reaſons, which he would not communicate, and for which alone it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very eaſy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper remedy, ſo the mending it would leave much argument for debate, and would ſpend much time; and it was to be apprehended that there were ſo many of the beſt affected members of the houſe of commons gone out of the town, as having no more to do, that when it ſhould be ſent down thither again, it might be longer detained there, than would be convenient for the publick; and ſo the parliament be kept longer from prorogation, than would be grateful to them, or agreeable to the king. And therefore upon the whole matter his majeſty choſe that no interruption ſhould be given to it in the houſe of peers; and only ſuch ſmall amendments, which would be as ſoon conſented to in both houſes as read, ſhould be offered, rather than run the other hazard of delay; and ſo accordingly it was paſſed: and upon the

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doing thereof the parliament was prorogued to April following. In this debate upon the insolent behaviour of Downing in the defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the extremity of pain, which at that time he endured in his bed, the chancellor had given some very sharp reprehensions to Downing for his presumption in undertaking to set such a design on foot that concerned the whole fabrick of the exchequer, in which he was an inferior officer. And such a branch of the revenue, without first communicating it to his superiour officers, and receiving their advice; and told him that it was impossible for the king to be well served, whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind to: that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council without the king's taking notice of it; which with what sharpness soever utter'd in which he naturally exceeded in such occasions in a case of this nature; in which with reference to any disrespect towards himself he was not concerned, he thought it did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place he held, and for which there were many precedents in the past times. At the present there was no notice taken, nor reply made to what he said; but they, who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed they were reflected upon, found quickly opportunity to incense the king, and to persuade him to believe that the chancellor's behaviour was a greater affront to him, than to Downing, that a gentleman should undergo such reproach in the king's own presence, for no other reason but having with all humility presented an information to his majesty, which was natural for him to understand in the office in which he served him, and afterwards followed and observed the orders and directions which himself had prescribed;

ſcribed; that this muſt terrify all men from giving the king any light in his affairs; that he may know nothing of his own neareſt concernment but what his chief miniſters thought fit to impart to him. All which and whatſoever elſe was natural to wit, ſharpened with malice to ſuggeſt upon ſuch an argument, they inforced with warmth that they deſired might be taken for zeal for his dignity, which was proſtituted by theſe preſumptions of the chancellor: and herewith they ſo inflamed the king, that he was much offended, and expreſſed to them ſuch a diſlike that pleaſed them well, and gave them opportunity to add more fuel to the fire; and told them, that the chancellor ſhould find that he was not pleaſed, as indeed he did by a greater reſervedneſs in his countenance, than his majeſty uſed to carry towards him: the reaſon whereof his innocence kept him from comprehending; till in a ſhort time he vouchſafed plainly to put him in mind of his behaviour at that time, and to expreſs a great reſentment of it, and urged all thoſe gloſſes which had been made to him upon it, and what interpretation all men muſt make of ſuch an action, and be terrified by it from offering any thing of what importance ſoever to his ſervice, if it would offend his miniſters; and all this in a choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the chancellor, and made him more diſcern, tho' he had evidence enough of it before, that he ſtood upon very ſlippery ground. He told his majeſty that ſince he thought his behaviour to be ſo bad in that particular, for which till then his own conſcience or diſcretion had not reproached him, he muſt and did believe he had committed a great fault, for which he did humbly ask his pardon, and promiſed hereafter no more to incur his diſpleaſure for ſuch exceſſes, which he could never

never have fallen into at that time, and upon that occaſion, but upon the preſumption that it had been impoſſible for his majeſty to have made the interpretation of it, which it ſeemed he had done, or that any body could have credit enough with him to perſuade him to believe, that he deſired that his majeſty ſhould not have a clear view and the moſt diſcerning inſight into the darkeſt and moſt intricate part of all his affairs, which they knew in their conſciences to be moſt untrue; and he muſt with great confidence appeal to his majeſty who knew how much he had deſired, and taken ſome pains that his majeſty might never ſet his hand to any thing, before he fully underſtood it; upon ſuch references and reports as according to the nature of the buſineſs was to be for his full information. He beſought him to remember how often he had told him, that it was moſt abſolutely neceſſary, that he ſhould make himſelf entirely maſter of his own buſineſs, for that there would be no acquieſcence in any judgment but his own, and his majeſty knew with what boldneſs he had often lamented to himſelf that he would not take the pains perfectly to underſtand all his own affairs, which expoſed his miniſters to the cenſures of half witted men, and was the greateſt diſcouragement to all who ſerved him honeſtly; and he deſired his pardon again for ſaying, that he would hereafter find, that they, who had adviſed him in this late tranſaction, in the handling whereof he had taken the liberty that had offended his majeſty, had but a very dim ſight into that buſineſs, which they took upon themſelves to direct. But his majeſty was not willing to enter again into that diſcourſe, and concluded with forbidding him to believe that it was or could be in any man's power to make him ſuſpect his affection and integrity to his ſervice; and uſed many other very gra-

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cious expreſſions to him, nor ever after ſeemed to remember that action to his prejudice: but within a ſhort time the biſhoprick of Salisbury becoming void by the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle, his majeſty conferred that biſhoprick upon Dr. Hyde, the dean of Wincheſter upon the chancellor's recommendation, whoſe near kinſman he was: nor was his credit with the king thought to be leſſened by any body but himſelf, who knew more to that purpoſe, than other people could do; yet he judged more from the credit that he found his enemies got every day, than from the king's with drawing his truſt and kindneſs from him, nor did the king believe that they had then that deſign, which ſhortly after they did not diſſemble.

The purpoſe of making the alteration in the government of the treaſury was purſued very induſtriouſly; and ſince that proviſo with all the circumſtances thereof had not produced the effect they propoſed; for they believed that the indignity of the affront would have wrought ſo far upon the great heart of the treaſurer, that he would thereupon have given up his ſtaff, which he was too much inclined to have done, if he had not been prevailed with by thoſe, who he knew were his friends, not to gratify thoſe who deſired him out of the way, in doing that which they of all thing's wiſhed; and therefore that plot not ſucceeding, they perſuaded the king to try another expedient, for they all knew that it was too envious a thing for his majeſty himſelf to remove him from the office by any act of his; and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if he could be himſelf perſuaded to quit that, which every body knew he was weary of, it would prevent all inconveniences, and they had been told that the chancellor alone had diſſuaded him from doing it; which he would not preſume to do,

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if he were clearly told, that the king desired that he should give it up. Hereupon the king one day called the chancellor to him, and told him, that he must speak with him in a business of great confidence, and which required great secrecy; and then enlarged in a great commendation of the treasurer (whom in truth he did very much esteem) of his great parts, of his judgment, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his general interest and reputation throughout the kingdom: but with all this he said he was not fit for the office he held, that he did not understand the mystery of that place, nor could in his nature comply with the necessary obligations of it; that his bodily infirmities were such, that many times he could not be spoken with for two or three days, so that there could be no dispatch; of which every body complained, and by which his business suffered very much: that all men knew that all the business was done by Sir Philip Warwick, who, tho' he was a very honest man, he did not think him fit to be treasurer, which he was to all effects, the treasurer himself doing nothing but signing the papers which the other prepared for him, which was neither for the king's honour, nor for his. The truth was, that his understanding was too fine for such gross matters, as that office must be conversant about; and that if his want of health did not hinder him, his genius did not carry him that way, nor would the laziness of his nature permit him to take that pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great office: his majesty concluded that he loved him too well to disoblige him, and would never do any thing, that would not be grateful to him; but he had some reasons even from what he had sometimes said to him, to think that he was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his staff, which his ma-

jeſty would be very glad of, and therefore he wiſhed that the chancellor, who was known to have moſt intereſt in him, would perſuade him to it, in which he would do his majeſty a ſingular ſervice. The chancellor preſently asked him, if he were ſo unfit, whom he would make treaſurer in his room. The king as preſently anſwered, that he would never make another treaſurer, which was an office of great charge, and would be much more effectually executed by commiſſioners which had been done in Cromwell's time, as many offices had been; and that his majeſty found by experience that in offices of that kind commiſſioners were better than ſingle officers: for tho' Sir William Compton was a very extraordinary man, of great induſtry and fidelity, yet that the office of ordnance was neither in ſo good order, nor ſo thriftily managed, whilſt he was maſter of it, as it hath been ſince his death; ſince which it hath been governed by commiſſioners; and ſo he was well aſſured his treaſury would be. The chancellor replied that he was very ſorry to find his majeſty ſo much inclined to commiſſioners, who were indeed fitteſt to execute all offices according to the model of a common-wealth, but not at all agreeable to monarchy: that if he thought the precedent of Cromwell's time fit to be followed, he ſhould be in the poſture that Cromwell was, with an army of one hundred thouſand men, which made him have no need of the authority and reputation of a treaſurer, either to ſettle his revenue, or to direct the levying it, he could do both beſt himſelf: but he very paſſionately beſought his majeſty to believe, that they who adviſed him to this method of government, tho' they might have good affection to his perſon and ſervice, were very unskilful in the conſtitution of this kingdom and the nature of the people; that the office of treaſurer had ſometimes

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upon the death of a preſent officer been executed by commiſſioners, but very ſeldom for any time, or longer than whilſt the king could deliberately make choice of a fit miniſter; that himſelf had been twice a commiſſioner of the treaſury; once in the time of his father, and again upon his majeſty's return; and therefore he could upon experience aſſure him, that commiſſioners in ſo active a time, as this, could never diſcharge the duty of that office, and that the dignity of the perſon of the treaſurer was moſt neceſſary for his ſervice, both towards procuring the raiſing money in parliament, and the improving his revenue, by the grant of additions there, as likewiſe for the collecting and conducting it afterwards: for the preſent treaſurer he ſaid there was no queſtion, but if he knew that his majeſty was weary of his ſervice, and wiſhed to have the ſtaff out of his hand, he would moſt readily deliver it: but that they who gave the counſel, and thought it fit for his majeſty's ſervice were much fitter to give him that advertiſement than he, who did in his conſcience believe, that the following it would be of the moſt pernicious conſequence to his ſervice, of any thing that could be done. He moſt humbly, and with much earneſtneſs, beſought his majeſty ſeriouſly to reflect, what an ill ſavour it would have over the whole kingdom, at this time of a war, with at leaſt two powerful enemies abroad together, of ſo great diſcontent and jealouſy at home, and when the court was in no great reputation with the people, to remove a perſon the moſt loved and reverenced by the people for his moſt exemplary fidelity and wiſdom; who had deſerved as much from his bleſſed father and himſelf, as a ſubject can do from his prince; a nobleman of the beſt quality, the beſt allied, and the beſt beloved; to remove at ſuch a time ſuch a perſon, and with ſuch circumſtances, from his council and

his truſt; for no-body could imagine that after ſuch a manifeſtation of his majeſty's diſpleaſure, he would be again converſant in the court or in the council, both which would be much leſs eſteemed upon ſuch an action. That many with the ſame diſeaſes and infirmities had long executed that office, which required more the ſtrength of the mind than of the body, all were obliged to attend him, and he only to wait upon his majeſty, that it was impoſſible for any man to diſcharge that office without a ſecretary: and if the whole kingdom had been to have proferred a ſecretary to him, they would have commended this gentleman to him, whom he might truſt, who had for many years ſerved a former treaſurer in the ſame truſt, in the moſt malignant, captious and calumniating time that hath been known; and yet without the leaſt blemiſh or imputation; and who ever ſince that time had ſerved his father in and to the end of the war, and himſelf ſince in the moſt ſecret and dangerous affairs; for he had been truſted by the perſons of the greateſt quality, to hold intelligence with his majeſty to the time of his return: ſo that all men expected to have found him preferred to ſome good place, rather than in the ſame poſt he had been twenty years before, which he would never have undertaken under any officer, than one with whom he had much confidence, and who he knew would ſerve his majeſty ſo well; yet he ſaid that whoever knew them, could not believe that Sir Philip Warwick could govern the lord treaſurer.

The king ſaid he had a very good opinion of Sir Phil. Warwick, and had never heard any thing to his prejudice, but upon the main point of the debate, he ſeemed rather moved and troubled, than convinced; when by good fortune the duke of York came into the room, who had been well prepared to like the king's purpoſe, and to believe it neceſſary; and

therefore his majeſty was glad of his preſence, and called him to him, and told him what he had been ſpeaking of, and the chancellor informed him of all that had paſſed between the king and him, and told him, that he could never do a better ſervice to the king his brother, than by uſing his credit with him, to reſtrain him from proſecuting a purpoſe, that would prove ſo miſchievous to him; and ſo the diſcourſe was renewed, and in the end the duke was ſo entirely converted, that he prevailed with his majeſty to lay aſide the thought of it, which ſo broke all the meaſures the other contrivers had formed their councils by, that they were much out of countenance; but finding, that they could not work upon the duke to change his mind, and to return to the former reſolution, they thought not fit to preſs the king further for the preſent; and only made ſo much uſe of their want of ſucceſs, by preſenting to his majeſty his irreſoluteneſs, which made the chancellor ſtill impoſe upon him, that the king did not think the better of the chancellor or the treaſurer, for his receding at that time from proſecuting what he had ſo poſitively reſolved to have done, and promiſed them to be firmer to his next determination. After Chriſtmas the rage and fury of the peſtilence began in ſome degree to be mitigated, but ſo little, that no body, who had left the town, had yet the courage to return thither, nor had they reaſons, for tho' it was a conſiderable abatement from the heighth it had been at; yet there died ſtill between three and four thouſand in the week, and thoſe ſome men of better condition than had fallen before. The general wrote from thence, that there ſtill aroſe new difficulties in providing for the ſetting out the fleet, and ſome of ſuch a nature, that he could not eaſily remove them without communication with his majeſty, and receiving his more poſitive directions, and how

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to bring that to paſs he knew not; for as he could by no means adviſe his majeſty to leave Oxford; ſo he found many objections againſt his own being abſent from London. Windſor was thought upon as a place where the king might ſafely reſide: there being then no infection there, but the king had adjourned the term thither, which had poſſeſſed the whole town, not without ſome apprehenſion that the plague had gotten into one houſe. In the end, towards the end of February, the king reſolved that the queen and ducheſs and all their families ſhould remain in Oxford, and that his majeſty and his brother, with prince Rupert, and ſuch of his council, with other ſervants as were thought neceſſary or fit, would make a quick journey to Hampton-court, where the general might be every day and return again to London at night: and his majeſty gave ſuch orders as were requiſite for the carrying on his ſervice, and ſo after two or three days ſtay there, to return again to Oxford; for no man did believe it counſellable that his majeſty ſhould reſide longer there, than the diſpatch of the moſt important buſineſs required, and with this reſolution his majeſty made his journey to Hampton-court. It pleaſed God, that the next week after his majeſty came thither, the number of thoſe who died of the plague in the city decreaſed one thouſand; and there was a ſtrange univerſal joy there, for the king's being ſo near: the weather was as it could be wiſhed deep ſnow and terrible froſt, which very probably ſtopt the ſpreading of the infection; tho' it might put an end to thoſe, who were already infected, as it did; for in a week or two the number of the dead was very little diminiſhed. The general came, and went as was intended; but the buſineſs every day increaſed, and his majeſty's remove to a further diſtance was thought inconvenient, ſince there appeared no danger in remaining where he was:

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and after a fornight or three weeks ſtay, he reſolved for the quicker diſpatch of all that was to be done, to go to Whitehall, when there died above fifteen hundred in a week; and when there was not in a day ſeen a coach in the ſtreets, but thoſe which came in his majeſty's train, ſo much all men were terrified from returning to a place of ſo much mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined, what numbers flocked thither from all parts upon the fame of the king's being at Whitehall, all men being aſhamed of their fears for their own ſafety, when the king ventured his perſon. The judges at Windſor adjourned the laſt return of the term to Weſtminſter-hall, and the town every day filled marvelouſly: and which was more wonderful, the plague every day decreaſed; upon which the king changed his purpoſe, and inſtead of returning to Oxford, ſent for the queen and all the family to come to Whitehall, ſo that before the end of March, the ſtreets were as full, the Exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous, as they had ever been ſeen, few perſons miſſing any of their acquaintance, tho' by the weekly bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threeſcore thouſand perſons: and many who could compute very well, concluded that there were in truth double that number who died, and that in one week, when the bill mentioned ſix thouſand, there had in truth fourteen thouſand died; the frequent death of the clerks and ſextons of pariſhes hindered the exact account of every week; but that which left it without any certainty, was the vaſt number that was buried in the fields, of which no account was kept then of the Anabaptiſts and other ſectaries, who abounded in the city, very few left their habitation, and multitudes of them died, whereof no church-warden or other officers had notice;

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but they found burials according to their own fancies in ſmall gardens, or the next fields. The greateſt number of thoſe, who died, conſiſted of women and children, and the loweſt and pooreſt ſort of the people: ſo that, as I ſaid before, few men miſſed any of their acquaintance when they returned, not many of wealth or quality, or of much converſation being dead; yet ſome of either ſort there were.

The buſineſs of the king and of all about him was, that the fleet might be ready and at ſea with all the poſſible expedition, and in order towards this there was leſs diſturbance and interruption, than could reaſonably have been expected, a univerſal chearfulneſs appearing in all who could obſtruct or contribute towards it. The people generally being abundantly ſatisfied in the king's choice of the commanders; prince Rupert was very much beloved for his confeſſed courage by the ſeamen, and the people believed that they could not but have the victory, where the general commanded, who only underwent unquietneſs and vexation from the tempeſtuous humour of his wife. She from his return from Oxford, and from the time that ſhe had the firſt intimation, that the king had deſigned her husband for the command of the fleet, was all ſtorm and fury; and according to the wiſdom and modeſty of her nature poured a thouſand full-mouthed curſes againſt all thoſe who had contributed to that counſel. But the malice of all that tempeſt fell upon the chancellor; ſhe declared that this was a plot of his to remove her husband from the king, that he might do what he had a mind to, and threw all the words at him, which ſhe had been accuſtomed to hear, accompanied with her good wiſhes of what ſhe would have befal him. But the company ſhe kept, and the converſation ſhe was accuſtomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far, and the

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poor general himſelf felt them moſt who knew the chancellor to be his very faſt and faithful friend, and that he would not be leſs ſo, becauſe his wife was no wiſer than ſhe was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains night and day that the fleet might be at ſea. The duke of Beaufort admiral of France was already gone to Breſt, and had taken leave of the king at Paris, whither he was not to return, till after the ſummer's ſervice at ſea, and had appointed a rendezvous of all the ſhips to be at Breſt by the middle of March, which they reported ſhould conſiſt of fifty ſhips of war. The rupture was declared by both ſides with Denmark; that king had appeared much troubled at the ill accident at Bergen, which had fallen out merely by the accidents of weather, which had hindered the poſitive orders from arriving in the preciſe time, and he ſeemed ſtill reſolved to detain the Dutch ſhips there, and only to fear the conjunction of the Swede with the Hollander, which the king's agent, Sir Gilbert Talbott, aſſured him he need not fear; which the better to confirm, Mr. Clifford, who had been preſent at Bergen, and is before mentioned to be ſent after that by the king to Denmark, went from thence into Sweden, where Mr. Coventry yet remained, with a project of ſuch a treaty, as would have been with little alteration conſented to in Sweden, who had good inclinations to the king, and reſolved to join with the biſhop of Munſter, when he ſhould advance according to his engagement: but the Daniſh reſident in Sweden delay'd to conclude, and pretended to have received leſs poſitive orders than the nature of the affairs required, and that he expected fuller, and ſo all matters were deferred, till ambaſſadors came from Holland with no expoſtulations, and a deſire to renew their alliance, and releaſe ſome engagements they had upon the Sound, which had been very griev-

ous to the Dane, and many other conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An ambaſſador likewiſe arrived in the nick of time from France, to diſpoſe them to a conjunction with Holland, and to warrant the performance of whatſoever the Hollanders ſhould promiſe, and likewiſe to undertake that France would protect them againſt England; and therefore that they ſhould not apprehend any danger from a war from thence: and De Ruiter was now gone with the fleet for Bergen. Upon all thoſe motives concurring, in the ſame conjuncture, the poor king embraced that party, and then declared and complained that the Engliſh admiral had broken the law of nations in violating the peace of his ports, and endeavouring to fire his town, when he was hoſpitably received and treated there under the protection of his caſtle: he denied, that he ever had made ſuch an offer or promiſe as Sir Gilbert Talbott ſtill charged him with; and which he had not denied to Mr. Clifford when he came firſt thither: but now he reproached Sir Gilbert Talbott for falſifying his words, at leaſt for miſtaking them, and ſending that the to king his maſter, which he gave him no liberty to do; and now Sir Gilbert found his errour in not having drawn from him, or his ſervant Gabell, in writing ſome evidence of the engagement. But after many indignities he left the court and returned to England. All Engliſh ſhips in Denmark or Norway were ſeized upon, and the perſons of all merchants and others, who were his majeſty's ſubjects: and to ſome of whom the king of Denmark owed great ſums of money, which they had lent to him, were impriſoned, and their goods ſeized and confiſcated. All which proceedings provoked the king to give the like orders, and to look upon them as enemies, and to emit a declaration of the motives he had to ſend his fleet to Bergen,

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which he could never have done, but upon the invitation and promiſe of that king, which was evident enough by the reception his ſhips had there, and expectation the governor had of their arrival, and his allegation that he expected that very night fuller orders than he had yet received, and laſtly his ſuffering them to depart ſecurely after all the acts of hoſtility had paſſed in the port; much of this was denied, with many indecent expreſſions and ſuch evaſions, as made all that was ſaid, believed by equal conſiderers; and ſo war was declared: and then in the beginning of the year 1666, a year long deſtined by all aſtrologers for the production of diſmal changes and alterations throughout the world, and by ſome for the end of it, the king found his condition ſo much worſe than it had been the laſt year, as the addition of France and Denmark could make it; againſt all which and the prodigies which the year was to produce, and it did truly produce many, the king prepared with his accuſtomed vigour and reſolution, tho' the predictions had a ſtrange operation upon vulgar minds.

The proclamation of the war in France, and the ſeizure upon the eſtates of the Engliſh, with ſome circumſtances in the point of time, and other actions very unjuſt and unuſual, the great maritime preparations there, and the viſible aſſiſtance of force that was ſent thence to the Dutch, did not trouble nor hurt the king ſo much, as the ſecret and inviſible negotiations of that crown. From the firſt declaration of the biſhop of Munſter of his reſolution to make a war upon Holland, with which he acquainted the king of France before he reſolved it, and received ſuch an anſwer, that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his firſt addreſs to the king of Great Britain) that he ſhould meet with no obſtruction from thence, and upon

that confidence the treaty was concluded with the king, and great ſums of money paid to the biſhop upon his promiſe and engagement, that he would fix himſelf with his army within the territories of the States General before the winter was ended: that againſt the ſpring, when the king's fleet ſhould be ready for the ſea, he would at the ſame time march with an army of twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe into the heart of their country, and what the effect of that would have been in that conjuncture may be in ſome degree gueſſed at by what hath ſince fallen out. But France from the firſt knowledge they had of his purpoſe, and before they declared on the behalf of the Dutch, ſecretly ſent to the neighbouring princes not to join with the biſhop: and to do all that was in their power to hinder his levies, prevailed on the elector of Brandenburg, who had given hopes to the biſhop of a powerful aſſiſtance; and upon the expectation of the reſtoration of Weſel and other towns then poſſeſſed by Holland, totally to decline any conjunction with him, upon promiſe that he ſhould find his own account better from the friendſhip of France. The dukes of Lunenburg, who had made the biſhop believe that they would join with him, and had made levies of ſoldiers to that purpoſe, having abundant argument of quarrel with Holland, were now perſuaded by the ſame way not only to deſiſt from helping, but to declare themſelves enemies to the biſhop if he would not deſiſt; and that they would ſerve the Dutch with their forces. When all this could not diſcourage the biſhop from proſecuting his intention, but that he ſtill gathered troops, and gave new commiſſions to officers, who had prepared for their levies further in Germany, the king of France ſent an envoy expreſly to the biſhop himſelf, and offered his mediation and interpoſition with the Dutch, that

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they ſhould do him all the right that in juſtice he could demand from them; and if it were not accepted by him, that he expect what prejudice the arms of France could bring upon him: and then ſent to all thoſe princes who had permitted levies to be made in their countries; that they ſhould not ſuffer thoſe troops to march out of their country; but offered to receive and entertain them in his own army. With this he ſent to the other princes of Germany and to the emperor himſelf, that if they did not prevent this incurſion of the biſhop of Munſter, to which they all wiſh'd well, they would involve the empire in a war. When all this could not terrify the biſhop, who defended himſelf by his engagement to the king of Great Britain, that he could not enter into treaty, nor give over his enterprize without his conſent, he drew his forces together to a rendezvous, and had got permiſſion from the marquis of Caſtle Rodrigo then governor of Flanders, to make levies in thoſe provinces, without noiſe or avowing it; and marched with his army into the States dominions, and took a place or two even in the ſight of prince Maurice, who drew as many of the States troops together as could be ſpared out of their garriſons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after he had found in ſome light skirmiſhes that they were not firm, ſo that the biſhop by the advantage of the ſituation of which he was poſſeſſed, begun to faſten himſelf in ful aſſurance of encreaſing his army in ſpright of all diſcouragements before the ſpring; and he had already received ſome troops out of Flanders, and advertiſement from other of his officers that they were well advanced in their levies. The king of France, in this conjuncture, in the imperious ſtile he cuſtomarily uſed in thoſe caſes, ſent to the governor of Flanders for a licenſe for ſuch troops as he had occaſion to ſend into Germany to paſs thro'

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ſuch a part of his government, which as he had no mind to grant, ſo he durſt not deny, having orders from Spain to be very careful, that no diſguſt might be given to France, which might give any occaſion or pretence or opportunity for a breach, which they well knew was deſired and long'd for. Upon this permiſſion, the French troops march'd into Flanders, and in the firſt place, whether in their way or out of their way they fell upon the levies which were made for the biſhop, and routed and diſperſed them or took them priſoners; in one place by the ſtrength of their quarters and a neighbouring church, they defended themſelves, imagining the country would relieve them, without ſuſpecting that they had licence and permiſſion to march through: but they were ſo much inferior in number or ſtrength, that after ſome of them were killed, the reſt were glad to throw down their arms, and become priſoners at mercy: the officers not comprehending what declared enemy could fall upon them in thoſe quarters. With this triumph they marched and joined with prince Maurice by the time the biſhop had notice of the diſaſter, and ſpeedily advanced upon his quarters, and beat ſome of his troops. Upon this the poor biſhop, who inſtead of the ſupplies, and commiſſions, and other countenance, that he had reaſon to expect from thoſe princes, who had been privy, and with great promiſes encouraged this enterprize, receiving every day arguments from them againſt his proceeding further, with many conjurations that he would entirely ſubmit to the king of France's determination, found himſelf neceſſitated to comply, and even heart broken ſigned a treaty with the French, who then were careful enough both of his honour and intereſt in the conditions with the Dutch, as of an ally, of whom they meant to make more uſe in another conjuncture. Upon all which

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the biſhop had been much more excuſable, if he had not received ſome of the king's money, even after he ſaw that he ſhould be obliged to ſign the treaty, which he ought not to have done, tho' it had been due, and it may be expended before he had any ſuch intention, and to which it cannot be denied he had moſt forcible compulſions.

This was the moſt ſenſible blow but the plague, that the king had felt from the beginning of the war; and was inſtance enough how terrible the king of France was to all the neighbour kings and princes, who had ſo ſuddenly departed from their own inclinations and reſolutions, and from their own intereſt, only upon his inſinuations, which became orders to them. And Spain, if they knew that, which all the world beſides diſcerned, could not believe but that France would break all treaties, as ſoon as the other king ſhould die: the news of which was expected and provided for every week; but the drowſy temper of that monarch, who had been ſo much diſquieted throughout his whole reign, extended ſo far only, as to provide a ſtock of peace that would laſt during his own time, that he ſaw would be very ſhort, and to leave his dominions and his infant ſon to ſhift for themſelves, when he was dead: and it was an unhappy maxim of that ſtate, that it was the beſt husbandry to purchaſe preſent peace and preſent money, at how dear intereſt ſoever for the future; which would be aſſiſted with ſome new expedients, as Spain had always been. All theſe diſadvantages made the king the more ſolicitous to have but one enemy to ſtruggle with, tho' it were France: and therefore he was very ſolicitous by all ways he could deviſe, to make a peace with Holland, and to leave Denmark to their own inventions; and he had ſome encouragement to believe that it was not impoſſible to ſeparate Holland from France.

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They were ſenſible enough that they had been upon the matter, betrayed into the war by the poſitive promiſe of aſſiſtance and a firm conjunction from France, in the inſtant that the war ſhould be entered upon, without any mention of mediation or interpoſition for peace, which was againſt their deſire; and that they had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleaſed to ſee them beaten, and their own people ready to raiſe againſt the government: then they knew that France did already provide for an expedition againſt Flanders, which could not defend itſelf with it's own forces, and that they depended upon this war between England and the Dutch, as what muſt hinder both theſe nations from giving it aſſiſtance; and they as well knew what their own portion muſt be, when that ſcreen was removed, that was their beſt ſecurity againſt ſo mighty a neighbour, and this De Witt himſelf, who was the chief ſupporter of the war, frequently obſerved and confeſſed to thoſe, with whom he had moſt converſation, and in whom he was believed to have moſt truſt: and all thoſe advertiſements were tranſmitted to the king by thoſe whoſe integrity could not be ſuſpected, and who did not diſſemble, being of the ſtates themſelves, to be very deſirous of peace, and very jealous of France. There was a gentleman, one Mr. Bewett, of a good family in France and born there; but long bred in Holland whilſt the wars were there, and had been captain of the laſt prince of Orange's horſe-guards, and in very particular favour with him, by which he was married to a woman of Holland very rich, and very nearly allied to many of thoſe who had the greateſt influence upon the government, and was now looked upon rather as a Dutchman than a Frenchman, and converſed moſt familiarly amongſt the burgomaſters and other principal perſons of the ſtates; and by this intereſt

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after the death of the prince of Orange that troop was ſtill preſerved for a guard to the States, and was the only horſe-troop that remained conſtantly in the Hague: and for the better pleaſing the people, it was ſtill called the prince of Orange's guard, and continued to wear the ſame livery it had always done, and the young prince took much delight to ſee them, and heard himſelf called by them their captain; and the command thereof Bewett profeſſed and paid the ſame devotion to him, that he had done to his father. This gentleman was generally beloved; and held a man of great ſincerity, brave in point of courage, and of good parts, of wit and judgment; ſave that he was immoderately given to wine, and to the exceſs of it; which being the diſeaſe, or rather the health of the country, made him not the worſe thought of, nor leſs fit for buſineſs. He was well known to the king and well thought of by him: and he had great familiarity with ſome of the bed-chamber, and others near the king, and truſted by him. He had made a journey once ſince the king's return into England only to kiſs his hand, and, and profeſs the ſame affection and duty he had often done when his majeſty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him. He was a bold ſpeaker, and from the time that the war was begun againſt England, much inveigh d againſt the council, that perſuaded it; as very pernicious to the affairs of that country, and in this argument uſed not more freedom with any than with De Witt himſelf, who loved his perſon and his ſpirit; and converſed very freely with him, tho' he knew his friendſhips were chiefly with the dependants upon the houſe of Orange, and with others of the States, who were of his own opinion with reference to the war: and the publiſhing this opinion drew many of the greateſt intereſt among the burgomaſters

to delight in his converſation, and to truſt him much. With theſe he conſulted freely, what means ſhould be uſed to procure a peace, and the miſchief that muſt attend the continuance of the war, with good ſenſe and judgment: but theſe conſultations were always in the exerciſe of drinking, which never ended without the utmoſt exceſs, tho' without noiſe, or diſquiet, or unkindneſs, which are never the effects of thoſe exceſſes among that people. After the firſt battle, when the Dutch were ſo much beaten, and the people in that conſternation, that they called aloud for peace, and libell'd all thoſe who were thought to be againſt it: and amongſt thoſe De Witt principally, who had the more enemies, and peace the more friends, for the differences which had ariſen amongſt the officers of the fleet upon the death of Opdam, and upon the diſgrace which Trumpe had undergone by the power and injuſtice, they ſaid, of De Witt, upon perſonal diſlikes, and becauſe he was known to have great affection for the prince of Orange, and Van Trumpe himſelf (as hath been ſaid) was not only of much intereſt amongſt the ſeamen, but very popular in the government, and had his ſiſters married to burgomaſters in ſome of the greateſt towns, ſo that the diſgrace of him increaſed the number of De Witt enemies; and in this conjuncture Bewett cultivated, the beſt he could, all thoſe ill humours, how mutinous ſoever, which grew moſt importunate for peace. Yet without any reflection upon the perſon of De Witt, with whom he was known by the company he moſt kept, to have much familiarity, and whom he did at that time really believe to be inclined to peace, and declared he did think ſo to thoſe, who knew the contrary: yet they did not think the worſe of him for being deceived, being aſſured he would never deceive them for

want of integrity. But he took advantage of this general diſtemper, and of the prejudice the people had againſt him, to talk very frankly to De Witt of both, and admired, that ſince he did, as he profeſſed, deſire peace, that he would not find ſome way to undeceive the people, which was neceſſary for his own ſecurity; and it might eaſily be effected by giving a beginning to ſuch a conſultation, as might look towards an accommodation. De Witt had his ſpies in all places, and knew well what company Bewett moſt delighted in, tho' his acquaintance was univerſal and agreeable to all men; and he was informed too of his particular behaviour with reference to him, and that he did conſtantly and confidently vindicate him from many imputations in the preſence of thoſe, who were not pleaſed with his contradictions: ſo that he looked upon him as his friend, and one that might by his intereſt and credit divert ſome of that popular envy and malice, of which he had no contempt, but much apprehenſion. He renewed his former profeſſions of his deſire of peace, and gave ſo good reaſons for it, as might naturally gain belief, amongſt which, one was always a vehement jealouſy of France, which he ſaid, tho' it had at laſt declared the war againſt England, which they ought to have done ſo long before, was only to draw England into ſome conditions, which might facilitate their own enterprize upon Flanders, which it concerned them to prevent by all the ways poſſible; of which none would be ſo probable as a peace between England and them, which would immediately make each ſolicitous for their own intereſt. But how to ſet any thing on foot that might contribute to this, he knew not; and the doing that whcih the other propoſed by declaring himſelf, was the way only to ſlacken all the proviſions for war, the expediting of which would moſt ad-

vance a peace. Bewett replied that he knew he had many friends in the Engliſh court, whereof ſome were of near truſt about his majeſty, for whoſe ſecrecy he would be accountable, and named the lord Arlington, who had lately married a lady of the Hague, the daughter of Monſ. Beverwarte, a perſon in his quality and fortune in the firſt rank. He offered to him, that he would himſelf write ſuch a letter to the lord Arlington in his own name, which he ſhould firſt ſee and approve, without which he would not ſend it, as ſhould only teſtify his own good wiſhes for a peace between the two nations, which were not unknown to the king himſelf, and would make no other mention of him, than that he had reaſon to believe, that Monſ. De Witt (in whoſe good opinion he had the honour to be known to have ſome place) would not be unwilling to promote any good overture, that ſhould be made. After ſome debate, he was content that he ſhould write, provided that he would promiſe to write nothing, but what he ſhould firſt ſee, and would ſtill bring the anſwers to him, which he ſhould receive, to which the other conſented.

Upon this encouragement he begun his correſpondence with the lord Arlington, and acquainted his boſom friends with it, to diſpoſe them the more to hope for peace, and to look upon de Witt as not averſe to it: but what he wrote was with ſo much warineſs, being dictated upon the matter by the penſioner, that it could draw no other anſwers from the ſecretary but of the ſame ſtyle, with expreſſions of his majeſty's deſire of peace, and eſteem of De Witt, and as if he expected ſome overtures to ariſe from thence. This intelligence had not been long on foot, but he begun to ſuſpect the ſincerity of De Witt, and that indeed he was not ſo well inclined to peace, as he had pretended to be;

his countenance was not ſo open, nor he ſo vacant when he came, as he uſed to be; he grew leſs jealous of the French, and more compoſed himſelf, and leſs apprehenſive of the people, as he found them more compoſed, and a greater concurrence in making all things ready for the fleet: all which obſervations he likewiſe imparted to his companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived, and from that time he was apter to concur with them in the fiercer councils, how to compaſs a peace in ſpight of him by a majority of votes in the ſtates, with the help of the people, for any accidental ſuppreſſion whereof, there were no other forces in view than thoſe horſe-guards that were commanded by him. Hereupon he took a new reſolution; but would not loſe the advantage he had by the knowledge De Witt had of his correſpondence, and therefore ſhewed him a letter that he had received from the lord Arlington; in which he preſſed him to inform him what particulars would diſpoſe the States to peace, and to ſeparate from the French; and had ſent him a cypher for the more free and ſafe communication; which cypher he had depoſited in the hands of De Witt: and having received his directions and obſerved them by uſing the ſame cypher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the anſwer to put an end to that correſpondence, of which he grew weary and leſs confident of the perſon, becauſe he heard that he was grown leſs jealous in his defence than he had been. Bewett upon this grew more reſolute one way, and leſs apprehenſive the other way, and ſent a perſon with whom he had great friendſhip, and well known to the king and moſt about him, Monſ. Silvius a ſervant to the late princeſs royal, and native of Orange, with a full account of the ſtate of the councils at the Hague, and his diſcovery that De Witt did not in truth deſire a

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peace, nor would conſent to it, but upon very unreaſonable terms, whereof ſome were mentioned in his letter in cypher, which he had dictated; but that he was moſt aſſured that he ſhould be compelled at the next aſſembly of the States to ſubmit to more reaſonable conditions; he gave the king an account of the ground of his confidence and information of the perſons who were combined together to preſs it in the States, among which there were ſome of the greateſt power; and by their advice he offered the ſubſtance of a meſſage they wiſhed the king ſhould ſent to the States-general at the time of their convening; in which there was nothing contained, againſt which any thing could be objected in his majeſty's behalf: and upon the delivery thereof there would few ſo adhere to De Witt, that he ſhould not be able to prevent a treaty, tho' France ſhould proteſt againſt it. He ſent likewiſe at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſon, another cypher to the lord Arlington, with direction that ſuch letters, as were intended for the view of the penſioner, the former cypher ſhould be uſed; and in the other letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were for the moſt part to contain intelligence and advice againſt him, the latter cypher was only to be made uſe of. Theſe informations by Sylvius, who was a man of parts, and had dependance upon the duke of York, and meant not to return into Holland, except upon a preſſing occaſion, when he durſt adventure to go, being looked upon as an inhabitant of the Hague, having been always bred there, and his relation to the duke ſcarce yet taken notice of, I ſay thoſe informations the king thought to be worthy to be well conſidered, and conferred with the chancellor upon the whole, and appointed the lord Arlington to inform him of all that had paſſed from the beginning;

ginning; and that Silvius, who was concealed, that they might have no advertiſement in Holland of his having been in England, ſhould likewiſe attend him in ſome evening, which he ſhortly after did, and made him an ample and clear relation of the ſtate of the councils at the Hague, and the ſeveral factions amongſt them, and the diſtemper of the people. He had himſelf ſpoken with many of the Burgomaſters and others in authority, who were privy to his coming; and communicated the method they meant to proceed in towards the depreſſing De Witt, by mingling the propoſition for peace with the intereſt of the prince of Orange, which the people thought to be inſeparable. In fine, he gave a perfect account of all to which he was inſtructed, with great modeſty: and when the chancellor, to whom Bewett and he were both well know, would have induced him to deliver ſomewhat of his own judgment, whether he thought that combination to be ſtrong enough to over-rule De Witt, he could draw no other anſwer from him, than the magnifying the credit and intereſt of Bewett, which he ſeemed principally to rely upon; and the impoſſibility that he ſhould fail in point of integrity or courage. Silvius had ſettled a ſure way of correſpondence, and by every poſt received intelligence of the preparations, and progreſs Bewett and his friends made in their deſigns; of the ſucceſs whereof they were every day more confident; and thought their party ſo much to increaſe, that as they did not apprehend any diſcovery like to be made by treachery, ſo they did not ſeem to fear it, if De Witt himſelf ſhould know all that they intended: and they preſſed very earneſtly that the king's letter, in the manner they had propoſed, might be at the Hague, when the general States were to meet; the timewhereof approached. The king called thoſe to him, to whom the whole negotiation had

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been imparted, to adviſe what was to be done. On the king's part, nothing was conſiderable but whether he ſhould write to the States at all, and what he ſhould write, and againſt writing there ſeemed to be no objection; and as little againſt what they adviſed, which was no more than he had formerly wrote, and always ſaid to their ambaſſador; andthat this might be a more favorable conjuncture for the good reception of it, and hearkening to it, his majeſty was reaſonably to believe thoſe, who meant to ſecond and promote it with their own reaſons; and therefore the time, and the manner of the delivery of it, was left to be reſolved amongſt themſelves: the king having no miniſter there to preſent it, the way that they had thought of, was, that Bewett ſhould at the proper time deliver it to De Witt, who durſt not conceal it: and if he ſhould, there would be ways enough to publiſh it to his reproach; nor could he take any advantage of Bewett for his correſpondence with their enemies, becauſe it had been entered into with his approbation: but for the better ſecurity in the ſending it, and the better information of the perſons engaged, of all the reflections which had been made by the king, and thoſe with whom he had conferred by his majeſty's order, it was thought beſt that Silvius ſhould return; and if Bewett thought fit to decline the delivery of the king's letter, and no better way could be found for the delivery of it, he might preſent it in the manner his friends there ſhould direct; and avow his having been at London to ſollicit his own pretences ſince the death of the princeſs his miſtreſs, and that he had received the letter from the king's own hand. This being the concurrent opinion of all, and the gentleman himſelf willing to undertake it, Silvius was diſpatched: in the debate of the matter, the king asked the chancellor, what he thought of the deſign, and whether

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he thought it would ſucceed, who ſaid he doubted it much, and that it would conclude in the loſs of poor Bewett's head, who had not a talent for the managery of an affair of that weight which would require great ſecrefy, and great ſobriety, and the conſideration of more particulars at once, than his comprehenſion could contain together. Then he did not like the method they propoſed of joining the demands of peace with the intereſt of the prince of Orange, which tho' it might probably follow the peace, and be the effect of it, would not be ſeaſonable to be joined with it in regard of his infancy; and that many did heartily deſire the peace, who had no mind that the prince ſhould be reſtored to the offices, of his father, and family; or that there ſhould be any debate of it, till the prince came to the age that was provided by the ſolemn act and declaration of the States, which had been the reaſon that his majeſty (who had all the tenderneſs for his nephew that a parent could have) would never be perſuaded to mention him, tho' it had been propoſed by many, and even the elector of Brandenburg, and the princeſs dowager, in the conditions of the peace, the king foreſeeing that De Witt would be glad to have that advantage to obſerve to the people that the king would preſcribe to them, what officers they ſhould chuſe and admit in their government; and that they muſt have no peace, except they would take a general and a ſtadtholder, and an admiral of his nomination, which was to make them ſubject to himſelf: and this was the reaſon, that in all conferences with the French ambaſſadors, who ſometimes would mention the prince of Orange, with compaſſion for the ingratitude of the States towards him; and add that they doubted not their maſter would be ready to join with his majeſty in doing him all offices; and ſometimes, when the Dutch ambaſſador (who was of that party,

that did really wish the reſtoration of the prince) in conference would ſeem to wiſh and to believe, that the reſtoring the prince of Orange would be the conſequence of the peace: the king never gave any other anſwer, than that he ſhould be very glad, that the States would gratify his nephew; but that it was a matter, he had nothing to do to interpoſe in, depending wholly upon their own good will and pleaſure. The reſt, who were preſent, had much more eſteem of Bewett, than the chancellor had, who thought as well of his courage and integrity as they did, and believed he would have ſucceſs in what he deſigned, his intereſt in the right of his wife, being confeſſedly very great amongſt the States; and his jolly courſe of living rendered him very acceptable and grateful to men of the moſt different affections, and then of all the officers of the militia he was moſt eſteemed, which was like to be of moment, if the diſpute brought the matter to a ſtruggle: but the event ſhewed the contrary. After Silvius's departure, letters paſſed between them, as they had uſed to do for two or three poſts: and Bewett one day meeting De Witt, when he came from his good fellows, and walking a turn together in common diſcourſe, De Witt asked him, when he had any letter from England, and how affairs went there; to which he ſuddenly anſwered, that he came juſt then from receiving one, which he had not yet decyphred, and put his hand in his pocket, and took thence a letter, caſting his eyes (which were never good, and now worſe by the company he had left) upon the ſuperſcription, he gave it to him, and ſaid he would go with him, that they might decypher it together according to cuſtom. De Witt preſently found that it was not the accuſtomed cypher (for he had delivered the wrong letter, that which he ought not to ſee)

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and desired him, that he would walk before, and he would presently overtake him, after he had spoken a few words at a house in his way; and so leaving him, he took present order for the apprehending him, and searching his pockets at the same time, sent to his house, and caused his cabinet, where all his papers were, to be examined and sealed up: and so poor Bewett, whilst he stayed at the other's house that they might decypher the letter, was apprehended, and all his papers taken out of his pockets, and sent to prison. The other cypher was quickly found, and many letters and other papers, which discovered many secrets: whereupon a court of justice was speedily erected, and within three days, according to the expedition used therein such cases, a scaffold was erected, and the poor gentleman brought thither in the sight of all his friends: and there with his known courage, and in few words declaring that he had honest purposes to the country, lost his head. Silvius quickly heard of his imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own escape, and arrived in England, before he heard of his last misfortune, which he did not suspect, nor know how the discovery had been made. The knot thus broken dispersed themselves; most of them got into Flanders: the burgomaster of Rotterdam, and two or three others of note made all the haste they could into England: some thought themselves secure in Antwerp and other parts of Flanders; and some were seized upon in several places of the States dominions, and imprisoned with all the circumstances of severity; tho' for the want of clear proofs, few of them were put to death. The troop of guards was reformed, or rather transformed under new officers, and assigned for a constant guard to the States, without the least formal relation to the prince of Orange, or using his name,

or livery, or permiſſion to pay any reverence to him. And ſo the prince was much lower than before, and all hopes of reviving almoſt extinguiſhed or expired. De Witt ſtood firmer upon his own feet than ever, and directed all preparations for the war, without controul; and all the preſent expectation in England vaniſhed, whilſt the penſionary informed France of the dangers he had eſcaped for them, and what great matters had been offered to him, if he would have departed from their intereſt, and made the plot to contain all that he fancied it might have done. When the parliament at Oxford was prorogued, it was to a day in April; but the king had reaſon to believe that they would not ſo ſoon be in good humour enough to give more money, which was the principal end of calling them together; and the dregs of the plague ſtill remaining and venting it's malignity in many burials every week, his majeſty thought fit to diſpenſe with their attendance at that time by a proclamation; and he cauſed it that day to be prorogued to the twentieth of September following. In the mean time, the court abounded in all its exceſſes, there had been ſome hope during the abode at Oxford that the queen had been with child, and whilſt that hope laſted, the king lived with more conſtraint and caution; and prepared to make himſelf worthy of that bleſſing; and there are many reaſons to believe beſides his own natural good inclinations, that if God had vouchſafed to have given him a child, and the queen that bleſſing to have merited it from him, he would have reſtrained all thoſe inordinate appetites and delights; and that he would ſeriouſly have applied himſelf to his government; and cut off all thoſe extravagant expences of money and time, which diſturbed and corrupted the evenneſs of his own nature, and the ſincerity of his intentions, and expoſed

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him to the temptations of thoſe, who had all the traps and ſnares to catch and detain him. The imagination of the queen's breeding was one cauſe of her ſtay there, and her ſtay there was the longer, becauſe ſhe miſcarried, when ſhe intended to begin her journey: and the doctors declared that it was a real miſcarriage ripe enough to make a judgment of the ſex: yet ſome of the women, who had more credit with the king, aſſured him, that it was only a falſe conception, and that ſhe had not been at all with child; in ſo much that his majeſty, who had been ſo confident upon a former miſcariage declare to the queen his mother and to others, that upon his knowledge her majeſty had miſcarried of a ſon, ſuffered himſelf now to be totally convinced by thoſe ladies, and other women, that he did as poſitively believe that ſhe never had, and never couldbe with child; and from that time he took little pleaſure in her converſation: and more indulged to himſelf all liberties in the converſation of thoſe, who uſed all their skill to ſupply him with divertiſement, which might drive all that was ſerious out of his thoughts, and make him undervalue thoſe, whom he had uſed, and ſtill did moſt truſt and employ in what he thought moſt important; tho' he ſometimes thought many things not of importance, which in the conſequence were of the higheſt. The lady, who had never declined in favour, was now greater in power than ever, ſhe was with child again, and well enough contented that his majeſty ſhould entertain an amour with another lady, and made a very ſtrict friendſhip with her, it may be the more diligently out of confidence, that he would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without doubt the king's paſſion was ſtronger towards that other lady, than ever it was to any other woman, and ſhe carried it with that diſcretion, and modeſty, that ſhe made no other

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uſe of it, than for the convenience of her own fortune and ſubſiſtence, which was narrow enough; never ſeemed diſpoſed to interpoſe in the leaſt degree in buſineſs; nor to ſpeak ill of any body, which kind of nature and temper the more inflamed the king's affection, who did not in his nature love a buſy woman, and had an averſion from ſpeaking with any woman, or hearing them ſpeak of any buſineſs but to that purpoſe, he thought them all made for. However they broke in afterwards upon him to all other purpoſes: the lady herſelf, who every day, as was ſaid before, grew in power and credit, did not yet preſume to interpoſe in any other buſineſs, than in giving all the imaginable countenance ſhe could to thoſe who deſired to depend upon her; and in their right as well as her own, in depreſſing the credit of thoſe, who ſhe knew wiſhed her's much leſs than it was: but in this laſt argument ſhe was hitherto wary, and took only ſuch opportunities as were offered without going out of her way to find them. Her principal buſineſs was, to get an eſtate for herſelf and her children, which ſhe thought the king at leaſt as much concerned to provide, as ſhe to ſolicit, which however ſhe would not be wanting in; and ſo procured round ſums of money out of the privy-purſe, where ſhe had placed Mr. May, and other aſſignations in other names; and ſo the leſs taken notice of; tho' in great proportions, all which yet amounted to little more than to pay her debts, which ſhe had in few years contracted to an unimaginable greatneſs; and to defray her conſtant expences, which were very exceſſive, in coachs and horſes, cloaths and jewels, without any thing of generoſity, or gratifying any of her family, or ſo much as paying any of her father's debts, whereof ſome where very clamorous: her name was not us'd in any ſuits for the grant of lands, for beſides that there

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was no avowing or publick mention of natural children, ſhe did think the chancellor and treaſurer willing toobſtrthe ſuch grants, and deſired not to have any occaſion to try the kindneſs of either of them; and ſo all the ſuits ſhe made of that kind, was with reference to Ireland, where they had no title to obſtruct, nor natural opportunity to know what was granted, and in that kingdom ſhe procured the grant of ſeveral great quantities of land, like to prove of great benefit and value to her or her children.

The chief deſign they now began to deſign, and the worſt they could ever deſign, was to raiſe a jealouſy in the king of his brother, to which his majeſty was not in any degree inclined, and had in truth a juſt affection for him, and confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural parts, than he thought there was cauſe for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, he did very often depart in matters of higheſt moment from his own judgment, to comply with his brother, who was inſtructed by thoſe, who too well knew the king's nature, to adhere to any thing he once adviſed, and to be importunate in any thing he once propoſed, in which he prevailed the more eaſily, becauſe he never uſed it in any thing that concerned himſelf or his own benefit. The truth is, it was the unhappy fate and conſtitution of that family, that they truſted naturally the judgments of thoſe who were as much inferiour to them in underſtanding as they were in quality, before their own, which was very good; and ſuffered even their natures which diſpoſed them to virtue and juſtice, to be prevailed upon, and altered and corrupted by thoſe, who knew how to make uſe of ſome one infirmity, that they diſcovered in them; and by complying with that, and cheriſhing and ſerving it, they by degrees wrought upon the maſs, and ſacrificed all the other

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good inclinations to that ſingle vice. They were too much inclined to like men at firſt ſight, and did not love the converſation of men of many more years than themſelves, and thought age not only troubleſome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and leſs to ſtrangers than to their friends; not out of bounty or generoſity, which was a flower that never did grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stewart, or the other of Bourbon: but out of an unskilfulneſs or defect in the countenance, and when they prevailed with themſelves to make ſome pauſe rather to deny, importunity removed all reſolution, which they knew neither how to ſhut out, nor to defend themſelves againſt, even when it was evident enough, that they had much rather not conſent; which often made that, which would have looked like bounty, loſe all its grace and luſtre. If the duke ſeemed to be more firm and fixed in his reſolutions, it was rather from an obſtinacy in his will, which he defended by averſion from the debate, than by conſtancy of his judgment, which was more ſubject to perſons, than to arguments, and ſo as changeable at leaſt as the king's, which was in the greateſt danger by ſurprize; and from this want of ſteadineſs and irreſolution (whenceſoever the infirmity proceeded) moſt of the misfortunes, which attended either of them, or their ſervants, who ſerved them honeſtly, had it's riſe and growth, of which there will be ſhortly an occaſion, and too frequently, to ſay much more. In the mean time it cannot be denied, and was obſerved and confeſſed by all, that never any prince had a more humble and dutiful condeſcenſion and ſubmiſſion to an elder brother, than the duke had towards the king; his whole demeanour, and behaviour was ſo full of reverence, that might have given example to be imitated by thoſe, who ought, but

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did not obſerve a greater diſtance; and the conſcience and reſentment he had within himſelf for the ſally he had made in Flanders, made him after ſo wary in his actions, and ſo abhorring to hear any thing that might leſſen his awe for the king, that no man, who had moſt credit with him, durſt approach towards any thing of that kind; ſo that there was never leſs ground of jealouſy than of him. And, as was ſaid before, the king, who was in his nature ſo far from any kind of jealouſy, that he was too much inclined to make interpretations of many words and actions, which might reaſonably harbour other apprehenſions, was as incapable of any infuſions, which might leſſen his confidence in his brother, as any noble and virtuous mind could be: and therefore thoſe ill men, who begun at this time to ſow that curſed ſeed, that grew up to bear a large crop of the worſt and rankeſt jealouſy, in the ſucceeding time, did not preſume to make any reflection upon the duke himſelf, but upon his wife; upon the ſtate ſhe aſſumed, the height of the whole family, that lived in much more plenty, they ſaid, than the king; and were more regarded abroad. Such kind of people are never without particular ſtories of the perſons they deſire to deprave; and ſo had many inſtances, which they uſed upon all occaſions, of ſome levity or vanity, of ſome words affected by the ducheſs, or ſome outward carriage, true or falſe, which, for the moſt part, concluded in mirth and laughter, and ſeemed ridiculous; which was the method they uſed in all approaches of that kind, towards the higheſt act of malice; firſt to make the perſon, whom they hoped to ruin in the end, leſs eſteemed, by the acting and preſentation of his words, and geſtures, and motions, which is commonly attended with laughter; and that is the firſt breach they

make upon any man's reputation; and the frequent cuſtom of this kind of laughter and mirth, which is eaſily produced, without any malice, doth, in the end, open a ſpace large enough to let in calumny and ſcandal enough to weaken, if not deſtroy the beſt built reputation. This was the courſe they held, with reference to the ducheſs, whom the king had, from the beginning, treated with great grace and favour, and conſidered her as a woman of more than ordinary wit and underſtanding; and the queen mother had, from the reconciliation, uſed her with that abundant affection and familiarity that was wonderful; and the height ſhe aſſumed, and all that greatneſs, which many thought too much, was not only inculcated, but enjoined by the queen, as a duty to her huſband, of whoſe high degree, ſhe thought ſhe could not be too tender and careful; and ſhe had the happineſs ſo well to behave herſelf towards the duke, that he was exceedingly pleaſed with her, and lived towards her with an affection ſo remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the publick diſcourſe and commendation; and which made the liberties, that were taken elſewhere, the more ſpoken of and cenſur'd. It was very viſible that he lik'd her company and converſation very well, and was believ'd to communicate all his councils, and all he knew or thought, without reſerve, to her; which being ſo contrary to the profeſſed doctrine of the court, adminiſtered occaſion to the men of mirth in thoſe ſeaſons, which took up a good part of every night, to be very pleaſant upon the government of the ducheſs, and the ſubmiſſion, in which there were always ſome witty reflections upon the chancellor: and this kind of liberty, being at firſt grateful to the king, for the wit that accompanied it, and the mirth that it produced, grew,

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by the cuſtom of it, the more acceptable; and, it may be, the general and publick obſervation of the diſparity in the lives of the two brothers, made it wiſhed, that there were more of that ſtrictneſs in the one place than in the other, towards which there wanted not application and advice accordingly, as well as example. In the mean time, the chancellor had a hard part to act, being neither to do the good he conſtantly endeavoured, on one ſide, nor remove the ill he diſliked on the other ſide; for he ſaw well the miſchief that would inevitably follow the great expences of the duke, which exceeded all limits, and could never be provided for; and thought the ducheſs to be blamed for what ſhe ſpent upon herſelf, and uſed all the credit he had with both to begin in time to reform; what neceſſity would ſhortly do with more dishonour. But the diſeaſe had grown from the firſt ill digeſtion. The lord Berkeley had upon the king's firſt arrival form'd a family, without rule or precedent, and made the ſervants in a much better condition than the maſter, by aſſigning liberal penſions and allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their places; without conſidering from what fund they ſhould ariſe: and now they all would have the duke believe, that he ſpent not too much, but that he had too little proviſion aſſigned to him for his quality and relation; and this proceed from the neglect in the chancellor, who was able, if he endeavoured it, to perſuade the king to enlarge it to a juſt proportion: and this was as much urged to the ducheſs as to the duke; and it made in her a greater impreſſion, and tho' ſhe had in all other reſpects a very intire affection, and even a duty and reſignation to her father; yet in this he had no authority with her, nor did ſhe think him a competent judge what expences princes ſhould make: and having ſeen the ſtate

and luſtre in which the duke of Anjou lived in France; and having received many infuſions from the queen of the great defect in the cuſtoms of England in providing either for the reſpect or for the ſupport of the younger ſons of the crown; ſhe thought that the chancellor ſhould rather uſe his credit for the enlarging that narrowneſs, which the king was enough diſpoſed to, than to reform their expences: but of this enough.

The plague had really ſwept away and deſtroy'd ſo many ſeamen, Stepney and the places adjacent, which were their common habitations, being almoſt depopulated, that now all other obſtructions being remov'd, there ſeemed even an impoſſibility to procure ſailors and mariners enough to ſet out the fleet, inſomuch as they found it neceſſary to preſs many water-men, and diſfurniſhed all merchant-ſhips, which were prepared to be ſet out to the plantations or to other places of trade, all which turned not ſo much to benefit one way, as it did to loſs another way: but the beſt way to expedite all things, was the two admirals going to the fleet themſelves, that they who reſolved to go might haſten thither, and that they who had no mind to go, might out of ſhame likewiſe accompany them; there appeared great unanimity and conſent between them, only prince Rupert had a great deſire to go in a ſhip apart, and that they might not be both in one ſhip; but, upon debate it, appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a time of action the orders could not be the ſame, if they who gave them were not together and in the ſame place, and ſo the prince was perſuaded not to be poſſitive in that particular, and ſo they both went together, and took leave of the king towards the end of April; and laboured ſo effectually, as they were both men of great dexterity and indefatigable induſtry in ſuch con-

conjunctures, that they carried the fleet out to ſea, well fitted and provided by the middle of May, with which they preſently viſited the coaſt of Holland, and took many prizes; and, by the intelligence they met with, concluded that the Dutch fleet would not be ready in a month, of which they gave the king advertiſement, and returned into the Downs; and prince Rupert, at the ſame time, expreſſed his inclination to go himſelf, with part of the fleet, to meet the duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be under ſail, to join with the Dutch; and that they would not put to ſea, till they foreſaw that they were like to join about Calais: at or near the ſame time, the lord Arlington received intelligence, that the Dutch were not yet well manned, and that the ſhips, which were in the Texel, and were to join with the others, under De Ruiter, in the Weclins, were more unprovided; though, at the ſame time, ſecretary Morrice (who had always better intelligence from Holland) was aſſured from thence, that all the ſhips in both places were ſo ready, that they would join within very few days. But the lord Arlington, who thought he ought to be more believed, received as poſitive advertiſement from France, that the duke of Beaufort ſet ſail from Breſt on ſuch a day, and tho' the wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded, that he muſt be well advanced in his way, and he had no port to befriend him, till he came to the coaſt of France near Calais. Upon this there ſeemed a great deſire that prince Rupert might take the courſe he had propoſed, for the convenience was agreed to be very great, if the French could be meet with before the conjuction: however the council was ſo wary, that at that time attended the king at Worceſter-houſe, the chancellor being affected with the gout, that they adviſed the

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king not to ſend poſitive orders for the dividing the fleet, which by many accidents might produce inconveniences; but rather to ſend two of the council to the fleet, with an account of all the intelligence, and the reflections which occurred to the king upon it; and whereupon Sir George Carteret and Sir William Coventry were preſently ſent; and carried ſuch orders with them, as would be neceſſary, if the general had not other intelligence, or did think that the diviſion was not liable to more objection than had been in view; and this caution I ſet down more particularly, becauſe the council after underwent reproaches, which it did not deſerve. The two councellors uſed ſuch expedition, and found ſo good conveniences by land and water, that they returned the next day with an account, that the ſtate of the Dutch fleet was confirmed to be the ſame, that his majeſty had heard; and that they believed the other concerning the duke of Beaufort to be very probable: whereupon they had concluded with a mutual conſent and approbation, that prince Rupert ſhould take twenty of the ſhips, which he had already choſen, to meet the French, tho' they were ſuperior in number, whilſt the general remained in the Downs with the reſt, and in order to this that prince Rupert went on board his ſhip, before they came away; and the rather, becauſe the wind was ſo much againſt him, that his majeſty's orders, if he found cauſe to ſend any, would be ſure for ſome days to find him upon the weſtern coaſt: and the wind that was againſt him, was ſo favourable to the duke of Beaufort, that it was probable they might ſpeedily meet, and in a place to be wiſhed. The king ſaw no cauſe yet to ſend orders to the contrary, and this was the reaſon and all the circumſtances of the ſeparation of the fleet that proved unfortunate.

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It appeared very ſoon after, which ſecretary had the better intelligence; for the very next day after the departure of the prince, the general who remained in the Downs, had certain intelligence that the Dutch were come out of their harbours, having it ſeems received intelligence likewiſe of the French fleets being at ſea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do ſo, which had deceived the court, they believing that they ſtaid, becauſe they were not ready to come out; whereas they were ready and expected only the other advertiſement. As ſoon as the general was informed, he ſent notice preſently to the duke in the ſame evening, who informing the king of it, gave orders to Sir William Coventry to prepare orders to prince Rupert immediately to return: and if thoſe orders had been carefully diſpatched, they might have come to the prince before the morning; but Sir William Coventry thought he had done his part, when he got the order ſigned, which was about twelve of the clock at night; and then ſent them by his ſervant to the lord Arlington, whoſe part he thought it was to charge a meſſenger with them; but he was gone to bed, and his ſervants durſt not diſquiet him, a tenderneſs not accuſtomed to be in the family of a ſecretary. But whether they did not wake him as he pretended, or being awake he deferred it, but it was not ſent away till the next day, and never came to prince Rupert's hand, till he had turned himſelf upon the thunder of the canon: and no ſooner endeavoured to return, but the wind chopped about to retard him, that he could make little way that day or the night following. Whoſe fault it was, that thoſe important orders were not ſent with more expedition; whether Sir William Coventry had not taken care for the conveying them, at leaſt to give the lord Arlington notice what the contents of them were, of which he denied

to have any notice was diſputed with ſome warmth between themſelves; and ſo came to be publiſhed: but it was never examined any where elſe, tho' the negligence was very miſchievous in it's effect; but they were both too great men to be queſtioned in any judicatory. The general after the notice he had received of the motion of the Dutch, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor about three of the clock in the morning upon the firſt of June 1666 to ſail to the Buoy of the Gunfleet to join with ſome other ſhips, that lay there, to get more men, being but ill manned; and about ſeven of the clock in the morning the ſcouts came in and brought the general notice, that the Dutch fleet was to the leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting, till they might join with the French: and it had been to be wiſhed that the Engliſh had ſtood off too, upon confidence that prince Rupert, whom the wind had kept from being far off, as they could not but know, would receive direction from court to return. But the general who was as impatient upon the ſight of an enemy to engage with him, as prince Rupert himſelf, and had a natural contempt of the Dutch, called his flag-officers to council, and quickly reſolved that it was not convenient, nor ſafe, nor honourable to decline the battle, leſt it might take off the preſent courage of the ſeamen, and truly in all theſe conſultations upon the like occaſions, whoever propoſed any wary advice, ran great hazard of being reputed a coward; and ſo they bore up with a full wind upon the enemy, notwithſtanding the viſible diſadvantage they were in reſpect of the ſtrength of the enemy; for in the abſence of prince Rupert there remained little above fifty ſail with the general whereas De Ruyter's fleet conſiſted of above fourſcore ſail, who eaſily perceived his advantage, and that a great part of the Engliſh was abſent; and ſo wil-

willingly embraced the occaſion, and made what ſail he could to meet with them. It was about two of the clock in the afternoon when the engagement begun, and the Engliſh had got the wind, which was ſo high that they could not carry out their lower tiers: the admiral was ſo ſhattered in his rigging and maſts, that he was compelled to get off, and anchor, that he might mend what was amiſs; and many of his ſquadron had their main yards ſhot off, and received ſuch damage in their tackling, which was the chief aim of the Dutch, that they could hardly govern their ſhips; and by this means the enemy got the wind, and the battle continued with great fierceneſs and loſs of many men on both ſides till nine or ten of the clock at night; when all were willing to have ſome reſt. That night was ſpent in repairing maſts and rigging; and at ſix of the clock in the morning the battle begun again with the ſame fierceneſs, and laſted till night; and that day the Dutch ſuffered much, and one of their vice-admirals was boarded, and afterwards ſunk, as many of their other ſhips likewiſe were: ſo that they begun to fall off, when ſixteen new great ſhips came to their aid, which gave them new courage, So that they renewed and maintained the fight with great reſolution, and killed many men of the Engliſh, and diſabled many of the ſhips, till the night again parted them. Upon the account the general received that night, and the new acceſs of force to the Dutch, he thought it neceſſary to retire; for tho' he had loſt no ſhip, very many were ſo diſabled, that there was reaſon to fear the wind they would hardly hold out to recover the ſhore; and thereupon he cauſed all thoſe ſhips to be put before the wind and make all the ſail they could, and himſelf with ſixteen ſhips in the breadth went in the rear, which, as ſoon as the enemy perceived, they purſued; but

came not within reach of their guns till four a clock in the afternoon; and then tho' they ſhot hard, they did very little harm; the ſtern pieces of the Engliſh over-reaching their boardſides, which made many of them get off as quickly as they could; but by this time the Engliſh deſcried about twenty ſail of ſhips ſtanding towards them, which they concluded to be prince Rupert (as it proved) and ſo being earneſt to join, they edged up towards them, but ſo unfortunately that many of the flag-ſhips were on ground off the Galloper ſand, but with much ado they all got off ſafe, the Royal Prince only excepted, which for this laſt age, and till the late war, was held the beſt ſhip in the world. This brave ſhip ſtuck ſo faſt, that no art or induſtry could move her; ſo that the enemy, when they found they could not carry her off, ſet her on fire, and took the captain Sir George Askewe and all the company priſoners, and without diſtinction uſed all with great barbarity, in which they pretended only to uſe retaliation. That night prince Rupert joined them, and then they bore to the northward, that they might get clear off the ſands; and thereby the enemy got the wind again. The fourth day of the battle, which was the fourth of June, the enemy being to windward about three leagues, the general in the morning made all ſail towards them, and they lay with their ſails to their maſts to ſtay for him, which they would not have had the courage to have done, if they had not had intelligence from the priſoners of the prince, in how tattered a condition the fleet was. The battle begun about eight of the clock in the morning with extraordinary confidence on both ſides; the Dutch continuing their old guard to ſpend all their ſhot upon the rigging and maſts, and to defend themſelves from being boarded, which the Engliſh moſt intended and laboured to do. But the deſign

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of the others ſucceeded better, in ſo much that one of the vice-admirals of a ſquadron, and other of the beſt ſhips were ſo diſabled, that they bore off from the battle that they might mend and repair, which gave no ſmall encouragement to the enemy. But the two generals were invincible, and continued the battle all the day in ſeveral forms, and by the advantage of the wind fired ſix or ſeven of their ſhips and ſunk others, and had two or three of their own likewiſe ſunk; and between ſix and ſeven at night as if by conſent, and no doubt both ſides were very weary of the encounter they ſeparated without looking after each other, and haſtened to their ſeveral coaſts, and many of the Engliſh being ſo hurt in maſts, yards, rigging and hulls, many of them wanting men to ply their guns, and their powder and ſhot near ſpent, that with very much difficulty they got into harbour; and ſo concluded that great action, wherein either ſide pretended to have advantage, and both loſt very much.

The next day after the battle was ſpent in fitting their maſts, and repairing their rigging, that they might be able to reach the coaſt; and when they came near it, the general called a council about diſpoſing thoſe ſhips, which could not remain at ſea, and ſent them to ſuch ſeveral places as they might be ſooneſt repaired in; and gave every captain very ſtrict order, that all poſſible diligence and expedition ſhould be uſed, to get their ſhips ready and furniſhed with whatſoever was wanting; and the commiſſioners of the navy were required to be aſſiſtant in all places; and ſo wonderful diligence was uſed (which appeared almoſt incredible) that by the ſeventeenth day of the ſame month, within a fortnight after ſo terrible a battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous to the Buoy of the Nore. The

enemy made as much haſte rather to meet with the French, who were every day ſtill expected, than to fight with the Engliſh, and kept as near to their own coaſt, as conveniently they could; ſo that how ready ſoever the generals were (who had never left their ſhip) with the fleet, by the 19th of the month, the winds were ſo averſe, or ſo calm, that it was the four and twentieth day of that month, before they could reach the ſight of the enemy; and the next day which was the 25th, the Engliſh made all the ſail they could, and by ten in the morning engaged in as hot an encounter as had hitherto been in any battle, and tho' the Dutch ſeemed not to fight with the ſame ſpirit and mettle, yet the battle held till two in the afternoon, when by the advantage of the wind they bore away farther than the Engliſh could follow; however here they took vice-admiral Banker, and his ſhip of three-ſcore guns and three hundred men was burnt, and another ſhip of ſeventy guns and three hundred men was likewiſe taken and burnt, which the generals thought better than to undergo the poſſible inconvenience of keeping them; and ſo they kept as cloſe to the enemy in the night as they could do. The next morning they uſed all their ſails, and deſigned to board De Ruiter, which the wind leſtening they could not effect, he fighting very well, but running faſter, and ſo tho' very well purſued he got into his faſtneſs at the Weclings, with thoſe who were neareſt to him; but the reſt, who were further off, and were like to have the benefit of the night tacked about, which they who attacked De Ruiter perceiving, and that they could follow him no further, and that the reſt were five and forty ſail, they followed them, the generals doing all that they could with their ſquadron, to put themſelves between them and the coaſt; but the wind

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growing on a ſudden calm, about midnight they dropped their anchors, that they might not be driven further than they had a mind to be; but in the morning, when they weighed anchor to purſue them, and made all the way they could with a little wind, the enemy got ſo cloſe to their own ſhore and their ſhips drawing leſs water than the Engliſh, that there could be no further purſuit. Another part of the fleet, which was ſeparated, when De Ruiter got into the Weclings, and which the generals looked upon as their own, were ſo unhappily purſued tho' by men of very good name, that they eſcaped, which raiſed a great diſtemper in the fleet, whilſt ſome officers of the prime and moſt unqueſtionable courage charged and accuſed others, who had always given great teſtimony that they durſt do any thing, of baſe declining to fight when the enemy was in their power, and choſe rather to ſuffer them to eſcape, than to encounter them: and this diſpute and expoſtulation between men, who had many ſeconds, divided the generals one declaring himſelf on the one ſide, the other on the other; but they wiſely laid it aſide till they ſhould be at more leaſure with leſs inconvenience to determine it. The generals thereupon having thus ſcattered the enemy, reſolved to ply upon the Dutch coaſt to take all ſhips of trade, which they did, and off the Texell and the Huye, and took many rich prizes both homeward and outward bound, of great value. And having now nothing to do, but to lie ſtill, there was a Dutch captain one Luzance Van Hemſkirk (who after the firſt battle in the faction between Everſham and Van Trumpe, had given De Witt ſo great an advantage, that if he had not made his eſcape he had been hanged) who from that time had always been on board with prince Rupert. This man, whilſt the fleet lay in this poſture, ad-

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viſed prince Rupert to attempt a place near the Huye; which was ſo locked in the land, that it was always looked upon as ſecure, and where all ſhips laden at Amſterdam for the Streights and thoſe parts, when they were outward bound uſed to lie two or three days as in a ſafe port, until all things which might be forgotten, and all the company came together, and had never been invaded in any war; and by it was a pretty large village called Schelling, which had many good houſes, beſides others inhabited by and for entertainment of ſeamen. This enterprize was committed to Sir Robert Holmes a very bold and expert man, who with a number of ſmall veſſels very well manned, beſides a body of ſtout foot to land upon occaſion, being aſſiſted by the Dutch man, ſo vigouroufly aſſaulted it, that he burnt all the Dutch ſhips lying there, being of ineſtimable value, all outward bound, and ſome of them worth above one hundred thouſand pounds each ſhip. They burnt likewiſe the whole town of Schelling, which conflagration, with that of the ſhips, appearing at the break of day ſo near Amſterdam, put that place into that conſternation, that they thought the day of judgment was come, not thinking of their ſhips there, as being out of the power or reach of any enemy, and no doubt it was the greateſt loſs that ſtate ſuſtained in the whole war, that is, greater than all the reſt. And as this victory, if it can be called a victory, when there is no reſiſtance, occaſioned great triumph in England; ſo it raiſed great thoughts of heart in De Witt, and a reſolution of revenge before any peace ſhould be conſented to, which they effected to a good degree the next year.

There appeared no more likelihood of the Dutch coming out again, ſo about the fifteenth of Auguſt, the generals re-

returned to Southwould Bay, to receive a recruit of men, proviſions, and ammunitions, having left ſhips enough upon the coaſt of Holland to take prizes, and ſcouts to get intelligence, in what readineſs the enemies fleet was, and what was done within the land, and about the twenty-ſeventh a little pink, that waited upon the coaſt of Zeland, brought notice, that the enemy conſiſting of about fourſcore ſail of ſhips were ready to come out from the Weclings; and the next day they were aſſured, that it was come and bound weſtward, by which they concluded that they had hope to join the French fleet; whereupon the generals gave preſent orders to unmoor the fleet; and weighing anchor about ſeven of the clock in the morning ſtood to ſea, and about noon diſcovered the Dutch fleet about four leagues to the leward. The generals made all ſail towards them, but the enemy ſtood away for the coaſt of Flanders, whilſt the Engliſh were ſo entangled upon the Galloper ſands, that they could not ſtand after the enemy till late in the afternoon, that it was night before they came near each other; and then ſeveral guns were fired to little purpoſe. The next morning being the firſt of September, the ſeaſon, when the winds begin to grow boiſtorous, they had upon the breaking of the day loſt the ſight of the enemy, and believed that they had born in the night from them; but when it was light, they found that they were to the leward as far as they could diſcover near St. John's bay beyond Calais: the Engliſh purſued them, and making ſome ſtay for the fire-ſhips, which could not make haſte by reaſon of the bluſtering weather, it was four in the afternoon before the fleet came up together to them. When De Ruiter made a ſhew as if he would draw off from the

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ſhore towards them; but when he ſaw the Engliſh ſtand with him, and advance with their uſual reſolution, he tacked back again, and ſtood cloſe into the ſhore (where the reſt of the fleet was) in the bay of Staples; and then the night came, and the wind blew ſo violently, that the Engliſh were forced to tack, and many of the ſhips were forced to leward, the night being ſo foul, that neither the generals nor the chief flag could be diſcerned; and tho' the ſtorm continued very violent the next day, a good part of the fleet got again together, and ſtood to the bay of Staples, where the Dutch ſtill remained cloſe under the ſhore at anchor, but could not be invited to come out; ſo the Engliſh found it neceſſary to ſtand further out to the ſea, and then they diſcovered the reſt of their fleet at a great diſtance to the leeward, and ſo bore after them; and at night they all arrived at St. Helen's point; and tho' the tempeſt ſtill encreaſed, a ſquadron went every day out to the coaſt of France. In this tempeſt the French fleet had a very narrow eſcape, by a providence they are ſeldom without; a gentleman of good quality of that nation returned at this time out of England, whither they repaired with as much liberty, and had been as kindly treated, as if there was no war, whilſt no Engliſhman could be ſafe there: and landing at Calais, and finding that the duke of Beaufort was every day expected, he diſpatched two or three Barks to find him with information how and where the Engliſh lay; one of which came ſo luckily to him towards the evening, that he changed his courſe, and by the darkneſs of the night got into the road of Diepe, where he dropped his anchors. But his vice-admiral being the biggeſt and the beſt ſhip but one in the fleet, and carrying ſeventy pieces of canon, purſuing the courſe he was directed in

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the dark of the night, fell amongſt the Engliſh, as the reſt had done, if it had not been for that advertiſement; and, after a little defending himſelf, which he ſaw to no purpoſe, was taken priſoner, and deſired to be brought to prince Rupert, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant perſon ought to be, and cauſed many things, which belonged to his own perſon, to be reſtored to him; and, when he was brought into England, he found another kind of reception (though he was priſoner in the Tower) than any of the Engliſh, though of the ſame quality, met with abroad. By this accident, the French fleet made a happy eſcape, and the continuance of the ſtorm for many days, kept the Engliſh and Dutch from any further engagement; but the ſame winds, and at the ſame time, did much more miſchief at land than at ſea.

It was upon the firſt day of that September, in the diſmal year of 1666 (in which many prodigies were expected, and ſo many really fell out) that the memorable and terrible fire broke out in London, which begun about midnight, or near the morning of Sunday, in a baker's houſe, at the end of Thames-ſtreet next the Tower; where being many little narrow alleys, and very poor houſes about that place where it firſt appeared, and then finding ſuch ſtore of combuſtible materials as that ſtreet is always furniſhed with, in timber-houſes, the fire prevailed ſo powerfully, that that whole ſtreet, and the neighbourhood was in ſo ſhort a time turned to aſhes, that few perſons had time to ſave and preſerve any of their goods, but were as a heap of people almoſt dead with the ſudden diſtraction at the ruin they ſuſtained: the magiſtrates of the city aſſembled quickly together, with the uſual

remedies of buckets, which they were provided with; but the fire was too ravenous to be extinguiſhed with ſuch quantities of water as thoſe inſtruments could apply to it, and faſtened ſtill upon new materials, before it had deſtroyed the old, and though it raged furiouſly all that day, to that degree that all men ſtood amazed, as ſpectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magiſtrates what orders to give; yet it kept within ſome compaſs, burnt what was next, and laid hold only on both ſides, and the greateſt apprehenſion was of the Tower, and all conſiderations enter'd upon how to ſecure that place; but, in the night, the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence, but with ſo great and irreſiſtible violence, that as it kept the Engliſh and Dutch fleets from grappling, when they were ſo near each other, ſo it ſcattered the fire from purſuing the line it was in, with all its force, and ſpread it over the city; ſo that they who went late to bed, at a great diſtance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning, with their own honſes being in a flame; and whilſt endeavour was uſed to quench that, other houſes were diſcourſed to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come; all which kindled another fire in the breaſts of men, almoſt as dangerous as that within their houſes. Monday morning produced firſt a jealouſy, and then a univerſal reſolution, that this fire came not by chance; nor did they care where it begun; but the breaking out in ſeveral places, at ſo great a diſtance from each other, made it evident that it was by conſpiracy and combination; and this determination could not hold long, without diſcovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded

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to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, tho' they had inhabited the ſame places above twenty years, all of that kind, or if they were ſtrangers of what nation ſoever, they were laid hold of, and after all the ill uſage that can conſiſt in words and ſome blows, and kicks, they were thrown into priſon, and ſhortly after the ſame concluſion comprehended all the Roman Catholicks, and Papiſts, who were in the ſame predicament of guilt, and danger; and quickly found that their only ſafety conſiſted in keeping within doors; and yet ſome of them, and of quality were taken by force out of their houſes and carried to priſon. When this rage ſpread as far as the fire, and every hour brought reports of ſome bloody effects of it, worſe than in truth they were, the king diſtributed many of the privy-council into ſeveral quarters of the city to prevent by their authorities thoſe inhumanities, which he heard were committed. In the mean time even they or any perſon thought it not ſafe to declare that they believed, that the fire came by accident, and that it was not a plot of the Dutch, and the French, and the Papiſts to burn the city; which was ſo generally believed, and in the beſt company, that he who ſaid the contrary, was ſuſpected for a conſpirator, or at beſt a favourer of them. It could not be conceived how a houſe, that was diſtant a mile from any part of the fire, could ſuddenly be in a flame without ſome particular malice, and this caſe fell out every hour, when a man at the furtheſt end of Broad-ſtreet had made a ſhift to get out of his houſe the beſt and moſt portable goods, becauſe the fire had approached near them, he no ſooner had ſecured them, as he thought, in ſome friend's houſe in Holbourn, which was believed a ſafe diſtance; but he ſaw that very houſe, and none elſe near it, in a ſudden flame; nor did there

want in this woeful diſtemper, the teſtimony of witneſſes who ſaw this villany committed, and apprehended men, who they were ready to ſwear threw fire balls into houſes, which were preſently burning. The lord Hollis, and lord Ashley, who had their quarters aſſigned about Newgate-market and the ſtreets adjacent, had many brought to them in cuſtody for crimes of this nature, and ſaw within a very little diſtance from the place, where they were, the people gathered together in great diſorder; and as they came nearer, ſaw a man in the middle of them without a hat or cloak, pulled and halled and very ill uſed, whom they knew to be a ſervant to the Portugal ambaſſador, who was preſently brought to them; and a ſubſtantial citizen was ready to take his oath, that he ſaw that man put his hand in his pocket, and throw into a ſhop a fire-ball, upon which he ſaw the houſe immediately on fire: whereupon being on the other ſide of the way, and ſeeing this, he cried out to the people to ſtop that gentleman, and made all the haſte he could himſelf; but the people had firſt ſeized upon him, and taken away his ſword, which he was ready to draw; and he not ſpeaking nor underſtanding Engliſh, they had uſed him in the manner ſet down before. The lord Hollis told him what he was accuſed of, and that he was ſeen to have thrown ſomewhat out of his pocket, which they thought to be a fire-ball, into a houſe which was now on fire; and the people had diligently ſearched his pockets to find more of the ſame commodities, but found nothing that they meant to accuſe him of: the man ſtanding in great amazement to hear he was ſo charged; the lord Hollis asked him, what it was that he pulled out of his pocket, and what it was he threw into the houſe: to which he anſwered that he did not think that he had put his hand into his pocket, but he remember-

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ed very well, that as he walked in the ſtreet, he ſaw a piece of bread upon the ground, which he took up, and laid upon a ſhelf in the next houſe, which is a cuſtom or ſuperſtition ſo natural to a Portugueſe, that if the king of Portugal were walking, and ſaw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he ſaw a fit place to lay it down. The houſe being in view, the lords with many of the people walked to it, and found the piece of bread juſt within the door upon a board where he ſaid he laid it; and the houſe on fire was two doors beyond it, which the man, who was on the other ſide of the way, and ſaw this man put his hand into the houſe as without ſtaying, preſently after the fire break out concluded to be the ſame houſe, which was very natural in the fright that all men were in; nor did the lords tho' they were ſatisfied, ſet the poor man at liberty; but as if there remained ground enough of ſuſpicion, committed him to the conſtable to be kept by him in his own houſe for ſome hours, when they pretended they would examine him again. Nor were any perſons who were ſeized upon in the ſame manner, as multitudes were in all the parts of the town, eſpecially if they were ſtrangers or Papiſts, preſently diſcharged, when there was no reaſonable ground to ſuſpect, but all ſent to priſon, where they were in much more ſecurity, than they could have been in full liberty, after they were once known to have been ſuſpected; and moſt of them underſtood their commitment to be upon that ground, and were glad of it.

The fire and wind continued in the ſame exceſs all Monday, Theſday, and Wedneſday till afternoon, and flung and ſcattered brands burning into all quarters, the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the ſame, the

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light of the fire ſupplying that of the ſun. And indeed, whoſoever was an eye witneſs of that terrible proſpect can never have ſo lively an image of the laſt conflagration, till he beholds it, the faces of all people in wonderfull dejection and diſcompoſure, not knowing where they could repoſe themſelves for one hour's ſleep, and no diſtance thought ſecure from the fire, which ſuddenly ſtarted up, before it was ſuſpected: ſo that people left their houſes, and carried away their goods from many places, which received no hurt, and whither they afterwards returned again. All the fields were full women and children, who had made a ſhift to bring thither ſome goods and conveniences to reſt upon, as ſafer than any houſes where; they yet felt ſuch intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the midle of the fire. The king and the duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themſelves into great danger amongſt the burning and falling houſes, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meaneſt, and had as little ſleep or reſt, and the faces of all men appeared ghaſtly and in the higheſt confuſion. The country ſent in carts to help thoſe miſerable people, who had ſaved any goods; and by this means and the help of coaches all the neighbouirng villages were filled with mor epeople than they could well contain, and more goods than they could find room for; ſo that thoſe fields became likewiſe as full, as the other about London and Weſtminſter. It was obſerved, that where the fire prevailed moſt, when it met with brick buildings, if it was not repulſed, it was ſo well reſiſted, that it made a much ſlower progreſs; and that when it had done it's worſt, that the timber and all combuſtible matter fell, it fell down to the bottom within the houſe, and the walls ſtood and incloſed the fire, and it was burnt

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out without making a further progreſs in many of thoſe places, and then the vacancy ſo interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houſes ſtood without much damage beſides the ſpreading; in ſo much as all London ſeemed but one fire in the breath of it. It ſeemed to continue in it's full fury a direct line to the Thames ſide, all Cheapſide from beyond the Exchange through Fleet-ſtreet, in ſo much as for that breadth taking in both ſides as far as the Thames there was ſcarce a houſe or church ſtanding from the bridge to Dorſet-houſe, which was burnt on Tueſday night after Baynard's caſtle. On Wedneſday morning, when the king ſaw that neither the fire decreaſed, nor the wind leſſened, he even deſpaired of preſerving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Weſtminſter Abby; but having obſerved by his having viſited all places, that where there was any vacant places between the houſes, by which the progreſs of the fire was interrupted, it changed it's courſe, and went to the otherſide, he gave orders for pulling down many houſes about Whitehall, ſome whereof were newly built, and hardly finiſhed, and ſent many of his choice of goods by water to Hampton-Court, as moſt of the perſons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river got barges and other veſſels, and ſent their furniture from their houſes to houſes ſome miles out of the town; and very many on both ſides the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and ſcarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houſes into the ſtreets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houſes. But it pleaſed God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wedneſday about four or five of the clock in the afternoon the wind fell, and as in an inſtant the fire decreaſed, having burnt all on the Thame's ſide to the new buildings of the

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Inner Temple next to White Friars; and having conſumed them was ſtoped by that vacancy from proceeding further into that houſe, but laid hold on ſome old buildings, which joined to Kam-alley, and ſwept all thoſe into Fleet-ſtreet; and the other ſide being likewiſe deſtroyed to Fetter-lane, it advanced no further; but left the other part of Fleet-ſtreet to Temple-bar and all the Strand unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houſes had done to themſelves by endeavouring to remove, and it ceaſed in all other parts of the town near the ſame time; ſo that the greateſt care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again; and this was the better performed, becauſe they who had yet their houſes ſtanding, had not the courage to ſleep, but watch'd with much leſs diſtraction; tho' the ſame diſtemper ſtill remained in the utmoſt extent, that all this had fallen out by the conſpiracy of the French and Dutch with the Papiſts, and all gaoles were filled with thoſe who were every hour apprehended upon that jealouſy, or rather upon ſome evidence that they were guilty of the crime; and the people were ſo ſottiſh, that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to proſecute thoſe by the ſword, who were preſerved from the fire, and the inhabitants of a whole ſtreet have run in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it, ſo terrified men were with their own apprehenſions. When a night, tho' far from being a quiet one, had ſomewhat leſſened the conſternation, the firſt care the king took was, that the country might ſpeedily ſupply markets in all places, that they who had ſaved themſelves from burning might not be in danger of ſtarving; and if there had

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not been extraordinary care and diligence uſed, many would have periſhed that way. The vaſt deſtruction of corn and all other ſorts of proviſions in thoſe parts where the fire had prevailed, had not only left all that people deſtitute of all that was to be eat or drunk, but the bakers and brewers, which inhabited the other parts, which were unhurt, had forſaken their houſes, and carried away all that was portable; in ſo much as many days paſt, before they were enough in their houſes, to fall to their occupations; and thoſe parts of the town, which God had ſpared and preſerved, were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields; and yet it can hardly be conceived how great a ſupply of all kinds was brought from all places within four-and-twenty hours; and which was more miraculous, in four days in all the fields about the town, which had ſeemed covered with thoſe whoſe habitations were burnt, and with the goods which they had ſaved, there was ſcarce a man to be ſeen; all found ſhelter in ſo ſhort a time, either in thoſe parts which remained of the city, and in the ſuburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expreſſing a marvellous charity towards thoſe who appeared to be undone; and very many with more expedition than can be conceived, ſet up little ſheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houſes, where they choſe rather to inhabit, than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reſide in thoſe new buildings. The king was not more troubled at any particular than at the imagination which poſſeſſed the hearts of ſo many, that all this miſchief had fallen out by a zeal and form'd conſpiracy; which albeit he ſaw no colour to believe, he found very many intelligent men, and even ſome of his own council, who did

really believe it; whereupon he appointed the privy-council to ſit both morning and evening to examine all evidence of that kind that ſhould be brought before them; and to ſend for any perſons who had been committed to priſon upon ſome evidence that made the greateſt noiſe; and ſent for the lord chief juſtice, who was in the country, to come to town for the better examination of all ſuggeſtions and allegations of that kind; there having been ſome malicious report ſcattered about the town, that the court had ſo great a prejudice againſt any kind of teſtimony of ſuch a conſpiracy that they diſcountenanced all witneſſes who came before them to teſtify what they knew; which was without any colour of truth; yet many who were produced, as if their teſtimony would remove all doubts, made ſuch ſenſeleſs relations of what they had been told, without knowing the conditions of the perſons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard matter to forbear ſmiling at their evidence; ſome Frenchmen's houſes had been ſearched in which had been found many of thoſe ſhells for ſquibs, and other fireworks frequently us'd in nights of joy and triumph; and the men were well known and had lived many years there by that trade and had no other; and one of theſe was the king's ſervant, and employed by the office of ordnance for making granadoes of all kinds, as well for the hands as for mortar-pieces; yet theſe men were look'd upon as in the number of the conſpirators, and remained ſtill in priſon till their neighbours ſolicited for their liberty; and it cannot be enough wondered at that in this general rage of the people no miſchief was done to the ſtrangers, that no one of them was aſſaſſinated outright, tho' many were ſorrily beaten and bruiſed. There was a very odd accident that

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confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe; and ſtartled others who thought the conſpiracy impoſſible; ſince no combination not very diſcernable could have effected that miſchief, in which the immediate hand of God was ſo viſible. Amongſt many Frenchmen who had been ſent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or ſix and twenty years of age, the ſon of a famous watch-maker of that trade in the city of Rouen; and this fellow had worked in the ſame profeſſion with ſeveral men in London; and had for many years both in Rouen and London been looked upon as diſtracted; this man confeſſed that he had ſet the firſt houſe on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year before to do it; that there were three more combined with him to do the ſame thing; and that they came over together into England to put it in execution in the time of the plague; but when they were in London he and two of his companions went into Sweden and returned from thence in the latter end of Auguſt, and he reſolved to undertake it, and that the two others went away into France. The whole examination was ſo ſenſeleſs that the chief juſtice who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he ſaid; he was ask'd who it was in Paris that ſuborn'd him to this action, to this he anſwered that he did not know having never ſeen him before, and in the enlarging upon that point he contradicted himſelf in many particulars; being ask'd what money he had received to perform a ſervice of ſo much hazard, he had received but a piſtole, but was promiſed five piſtoles more, when he ſhould have done his work; and many ſuch unreaſonable things that no-body preſent credited any thing he ſaid; however they durſt not ſlight the evidence, but put him to a par-

ticular, in which he fully confirmed all that he had ſaid before, that they were ſurpriſed with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to ſay or think; they ask'd him if he knew the place where he firſt put fire, he anſwered, that he knew it very well, and would ſhew it to any body. Upon this the chief juſtice and many aldermen who ſat with him, ſent a guard of ſubſtantial citizens with the priſoner, that he might ſhew them the houſe, and they firſt led him to a place at ſome diſtance from it, and ask'd him if that was it, to which he anſwered preſently, no, it was lower, nearer to the Thames. The houſe, and all which were near it, were ſo covered and buried in ruins that the owners themſelves without ſome infallible mark, could very hardly have ſaid where his own houſe had ſtood; but this man led them directly to the place, deſcrib'd how it ſtood, the ſhape of the little yard, and the faſhion of the door and windows, and where he firſt put the fire, and all this with ſuch exactneſs that they who had dwelt long near it, could not ſo perfectly have deſcribed all particulars. This ſilenced all further doubts, and though the chief juſtice told the king that all his diſcourſe was ſo disjointed that he did not believe him guilty; nor was there one man who proſecuted or accuſed him; yet upon his own confeſſion, and ſo ſenſible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with ſo many circumſtances without the leaſt ſhew of compunction or ſorrow for what he had ſaid or done, nor yet ſeeming to juſtify or to take delight in it, but being ask'd whether he was not ſorry for the wickedneſs, and whether he intended to do ſo much, he gave no anſwer at all, nor made reply to what was ſaid, and with the ſame temper died. The jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly, and tho' no man could

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imagine any reaſon why a man ſhould ſo deſperately throw away his life, which he might have ſaved though he had been guilty; ſince he was only accuſed upon his own confeſſion, yet neither the judges nor any preſent at the trial did believe him guilty; but that he was a poor diſtracted wretch weary of his life, and choſe to part with it this way. Certain it is that upon the ſtricteſt examination that could be afterwards made by the king's command, and then by the diligence of the houſe, that upon the general jealouſy and rumour made a committee that was very diligent and ſolicitous to make that diſcovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature only excepted) that there was any other cauſe of that woeful fire, than the diſpleaſure of God Almighty, the firſt accident of the beginning in a baker's houſe, where there was ſo great a ſtock of faggots; and the neighbourhood of much combuſtible matter, of pitch and roſin and the like, that led it in an inſtant from houſe to houſe through Thames-ſtreet, with the agitation of ſo terrible a wind to ſcatter and diſperſe it.

Let the cauſe be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city was burnt to aſhes, and thoſe the moſt rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greateſt warehouſes and beſt ſhops ſtood. The Royal Exchange, with all the ſtreets about it; Lombard-ſtreet, Cheapſide, Pater-noſter-row, St. Paul's church, and almoſt all the other churches in the city; with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all St. Paul's Church-yard, even to the Thames, and the greateſt part of Fleet-ſtreet; all which were places the beſt inhabited; all burnt, without one houſe remaining. The value or eſtimate of what that devouring fire conſumed, over and above the houſes, could never be computed

puted in any degree; for, beſides that of the firſt night, which, in a moment, ſwept away the vaſt wealth of Thames-ſtreet, there was not any thing that could be preſerved, in reſpect of the ſuddenneſs and amazement, all people being in their beds, till the fire was in their houſes, and ſo could ſave nothing but themſelves. The next day, with the violence of the wind, increaſed the diſtraction; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reaſon to remove their goods, till it was upon them, and rendered it impoſſible; then it fell out in a ſeaſon in the year, the beginning of September, when very many of the ſubſtantial citizens, and other wealthy men were in the country; whereof many had not left a ſervant in their houſes, thinking themſelves, upon all ordinary accidents, more ſecure in the goodneſs and kindneſs of their neighbours, than they could be in the fidelity of a ſervant: and whatſoever was in ſuch houſes, was entirely conſumed by the fire, or loſt, as to the owners. And of this claſs of abſent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houſes, as they had in many places (eſpecially Serjeant's Inn in Fleet-ſtreet, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it, and White-Friars) there was ſcarce a man, to whom his lodgings appertained, in town; ſo that whatſoever was there, their money, books, and papers, beſides the evidences of many men's eſtates, depoſited in their hands, were all burnt or loſt, to a very great value; but of particular men's loſſes could never be made any computation. It was, an incredible damage that was, and might rationally be computed to be ſuſtained by one ſmall company, the company of Stationers, in books, papers, and the other leſſer commodities which are vendible in that corporation, which amounted to no leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds,

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in which prodigious loſs there was one circumſtance very lamentable. All thoſe who dwelt near Paul's, carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither; which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burnt, with all the houſes round about, ſtill ſtood firm and ſupported the foundation, and preſerved all that was within them; until the impatience of thoſe who had loſt their houſes, and whatſoever they had elſe, in the fire, prevailed, upon which they were very deſirous to ſee what they had left, upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the reſt. It was the fourth day after the fire ceaſed to flame, though it ſtill burned in the ruins, from whence there was ſtill an intolerable heat, when the booksellers eſpecially. and ſome other tradeſmen, who had depoſited all they had preſerved in the greateſt and moſt ſpacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which, to that moment was ſafe. But the doors were no ſooner opened, and the air from without fanned the ſtrong heat within, but firſt the drieſt and moſt combuſtible matters broke into a flame, which conſumed all, of what kind ſoever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to ſome leſſer vaults, at a diſtance from that greater, had better fortune; and having learned, from the ſecond ruin of their friends, to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguiſhed the fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they ſecurely opened the doors, and received all from thence that they had there. If ſo vaſt a damage as two hundred thouſand pounds befel that little company of Stationers, in books and paper, and the like; what ſhall we conceive

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was loſt in cloth, of which the country clothiers loſt all that they had brought up to Blackwell-hall, againſt Michaelmas (which was all burnt with that fair ſtructure) in ſilks of all kinds, in linnen and thoſe richer manufactures, not to ſpeak of money, plate, and jewels, whereof ſome were recovered out of the ruins of thoſe houſes, which the owners took care to watch, as containing ſomewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which deluge there were men ready to fiſh. The lord mayor, though a very honeſt man, was much blamed for want of ſagacity, in the firſt night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement; for though he came with great diligence, as ſoon as he had notice of it, and was preſent with the firſt; yet having never been uſed to ſuch ſpectacles, his conſternation was equal to that of other men; nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the preſent diſtreſs; and when men, who were leſs terrified with the object, preſſed him very earneſtly that he would give orders for the preſent pulling down thoſe houſes which were neareſt, and and by which the fire climbed to go further, and the doing thereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the miſchief that ſucceeded, he thought it not ſafe council; and made no other anſwer, than that he durſt not do it without the conſent of the owner: his want of ſkill was the leſs wondered at when it was known afterwards, that ſome gentlemen of the Inner-Temple would not endeavour to preſerve the goods, which were in the lodgings of abſent perſons, nor ſuffer others to do it, becauſe, they ſaid, it was againſt the law to break up any man's chamber. The ſo ſudden repair of thoſe formidable ruins, and the giving ſo great a beauty to all deformity (a beauty, and a luſtre that

that city had never before been acquainted with) is little leſs wonderful, than the fire that conſumed it.

It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and univerſal calamity, (for the effects of it covered the whole kingdom,) would have made impreſſion, and produced ſome reformation in the licenſe of the court; for as the pains the king had taken night and day during, the fire; and the dangers he had expoſed himſelf to even for the ſaving the citizens goods, had been very notorious; and in the mouths of all men, with good wiſhes and prayers for him; ſo his majeſty had been heard during that time to ſpeak with great piety and devotion of the diſpleaſure that God was provoked to: and no doubt the deep ſenſe of it did raiſe many good thoughts and purpoſes in his royal breaſt; but he was narrowly watched and looked to, that ſuch melancholy might not long poſſeſs him; the conſequence and effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the fire itſelf, of which that looſe company, that was too much cheriſhed even before it was extinguiſhed, diſcourſed as of an argument for mirth and wit to deſcribe the wildneſs of the confuſion all people were in; in which the ſcripture itſelf was uſed with equal liberty, when they could apply it to their profane purpoſes; and Mr. May preſumed to aſſure the king, that this was the greateſt bleſſing that God had ever conferred upon him, his reſtoration only excepted; for the walls and gates being now burnt down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majeſty would never ſuffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bitt in his mouth, and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open that his troops might enter upon them, whenever he thought neceſſary for his ſervice, there being no other way to govern that rude

multitude but by force. This kind of diſcourſe did not pleaſe the king but was highly approved by the company; and for the wit and pleaſantneſs of it was repeated in all companies infinitely to the king's diſſervice, and corrupted the affections of the citizens and of the country, who uſed and aſſumed the ſame liberty to publiſh the profaneneſs and atheiſm of the court: and as nothing was done there in private, ſo it was made more publick by paſquins and libels, which were as bold with reflections of the broadeſt nature upon the king himſelf, and upon thoſe in whoſe company he was moſt delighted, as upon the meaneſt perſon; all men of virtue and ſobriety, of which there were very many in the king's family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what they could not chuſe but hear, and ſeeing many things which they could not avoid the ſeeing; there were few of the council that did not to one another lament the exceſſes, which muſt be in time attended with fatal conſequences; and for the preſent did apparently leſſen the reverence to the king, that is the beſt ſupport of his royalty, but few of them had the courage to ſay that to his majeſty which was not ſo fit to be ſaid to any body elſe; nor can it be denied that his majeſty did upon all occaſions receive thoſe advertiſements from thoſe who preſented them to him, with patience and benignity, and without the leaſt ſhew of diſpleaſure, tho' the perſons concerned endeavoured no one thing more, than to perſuade him, that it was the higheſt preſumption imaginable in the privy-council to believe that they had any juriſdiction in the court, or ought to cenſure the manners of it, nor were all thoſe endeavours without making ſome impreſſion on his majeſty who rather eſteemed ſome

ſome particular members of it, than was inclin'd to believe that the body of it ought to receive a reverence from the people, or be looked upon as a vital part of the government, in which his majeſty (as hath been often ſaid before) by the ill principles he had received in France, and the accuſtomed liberty of his bed-chamber, was exceedingly and unhappily miſtaken; for by the conſtitution of the kingdom and the very laws and cuſtoms of the nation, as the privy-council, and every member of it, is of the ſole choice and election of him to that truſt, for the greateſt office in the ſtate, though conferred likewiſe by the king himſelf, doth not qualify the officer to be of the privy-council, or to be preſent in it, before by a new aſſignation that honour is beſtowed on him, and that he be ſworn of the council; ſo the body of it is the moſt ſacred, and hath the greateſt authority in the government of the ſtate, next the perſon of the king himſelf, to whom all other powers are equally ſubject; and no king of England can ſo well ſecure his own juſt prerogative, or preſerve it from violation, as by a ſtrict depending and ſupporting the dignity of the privy-council. When it was too much taken notice of, that the king himſelf had not that eſteem or conſideration of the council that was due to it, what they did or ordered to be done, was leſs valued by the people; and that diſreſpect every day improved by the want of gravity and juſtice and conſtancy in the proceedings there, the reſolutions of one day being reverſed or altered the next; either upon ſome whiſpers in the king's ear, or ſome new fancy in ſome of thoſe councellors who were always of one mind againſt all former orders and precedents, the pride and inſolent humour of Sir William Coventry taking not

ſo much delight in any thing as to croſs and oppoſe whatſoever the chancellor or the treaſurer adviſed; and to reverſe what had been ordered upon that ground. And tho' he had ſuck'd his milk at the charge of the law, no man was ſo profeſt an enemy to it, and to the profeſſors of it, and ſhewed no more reſpect to any thing paſſed and granted under the great ſeal of England, but ſpake againſt it with the ſame confidence, as if it had been a common ſcroll of no ſignification: which kind of behaviour in a perſon unqualified by any office to ſpeak much in ſuch an aſſembly, as it had never been accuſtomed, ſo it would have found much reprehenſion there, if it had not been for reſpect to the duke, and if the king himſelf had not very often declared himſelf to be of his opinion, even in particulars, which himſelf had cauſed to be propoſed to a contrary purpoſe. One day his majeſty called the chancellor to him and complained very much of the licenſe that was aſſumed in the coffee-houſes, which were the places where the boldeſt calumnies and ſcandals were raiſed, and diſcourſed amongſt a people who knew not each other, and came together only for that communication, and from thence were propagated over the kingdom; and mentioned ſome particular rumours which had been lately diſperſed from thoſe fountains, which on his own behalf he was enough diſpleaſed with; and asked him what was to be done in it. The chancellor concurred with him in the ſenſe of the ſcandal, and the miſchief that muſt attend the impunity of ſuch places, where the fouleſt imputations were laid upon the government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every body, but to the magiſtrates who might examine and puniſh them; of which there having yet been no precedent, peo-

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ple generally believed that thoſe houſes had a charter of priviledge to ſpeak what they would without being in danger to be called in queſtion, and that it was high time for his majeſty to apply ſome remedy to ſuch a growing diſeaſe, and to reform the underſtandings of thoſe who believed that no remedy could be applied to it; that it would be fit by a proclamation to forbid all perſons to reſort to thoſe houſes, and ſo totally to ſuppreſs them, or to employ ſome ſpies, who being preſent in the converſation, might be ready to charge and accuſe the perſons who had talk'd with ſo much licenſe in a ſubject that would bear a complaint, upon which the proceedings might be in ſuch a manner as would put an end to the confidence which was only miſchievous in thoſe meetings. The king liked both the expedients, and thought that the laſt could not juſtly be made uſe of till the former ſhould give fair warning, and commanded him to propoſe it that ſame day in council, that ſome order might be given in it. The chancellor propoſed it as he was required, with ſuch arguments as were like to move with men who knew the inconveniencies which aroſe from thoſe places, and the king himſelf mentioned it with paſſion, as derogatory to the government; and directed that the attorney general might prepare a proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of the houſes; in which the board ſeemed to agree; when Sir William Coventry, who had been heard within few days before to inveigh with much fierceneſs againſt the permiſſion of ſo much ſeditious prattle in the impunity of thoſe houſes, ſtood up and ſaid that coffee was a commodity that yielded the king a good revenue, and therefore it would not be juſt to receive the duties and inhibit the ſale of it, which many men found to be very good for their health (as if it might not be bought

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and drunk but in thoſe licentious meetings) that it had been permitted in Cromwell's time, and that the king's friends had uſed more liberty of ſpeech in thoſe places than they durſt do in any other; and that he thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the hazard of its being continued notwithſtanding his command to the contrary; and upon theſe reaſons his majeſty was converted, and declined any further debate, which put the chancellor very much out of countenance, nor knew he how to behave himſelf,

The truth is he had a very hard province, and found his credit every day to decay with the king, whilſt they who prevailed againſt him, uſed all the skill and cunning they had to make it believed that his power with his majeſty was as great as it had ever been; and that all thoſe things which he moſt oppoſed were acted by his advice; and whilſt they procured all thoſe, for whom he had kindneſs, or who profeſſed any reſpect towards him, to be diſcountenanced and undervalued; and preferred none but ſuch who were known to have an averſion for him, upon ſomewhat that he had or they had been told that he had obſtructed their pretences; they perſuaded men that no body had any credit with the king, to diſpoſe of any place, but he. Thoſe men would often profeſs to him that they were ſo much afflicted at the king's courſe of life that they even deſpaired that he would be able to maſter thoſe difficulties which would ſtill preſs upon him; and would then tell him ſome particulars, which he himſelf had ſaid or done, or had been ſaid or done lately in his own preſence; and of which he had never heard before; which gave him occaſion often to blame them, that they having the opportunity to ſee and know many things

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which he had no notice of, or could not take any, and foreſaw the conſequence that did attend them, yet did forbear to uſe the credit they had with his majeſty in adverti-ſing what they thought, and heard all others ſay; and offered to go with them to his majeſty and make a lively repreſentation of the great decay of his reputation with the people upon his exorbitants expences, which God could never bleſs; to all which they were not aſhamed to confeſs that they never had or durſt ſpeak to his majeſty to that purpoſe, or in ſuch a dialect; indeed they were the honeſter men in not doing it, for it had been groſs hypocriſy to have found fault with thoſe actions, upon the purſuing whereof they moſt depended; and the reformation which they would have been glad to have ſeen, had no relation to thoſe inordinate and unlawful appetites, which were the root from whence all the other miſchiefs had their birth; they did not wiſh that the ladies authority and power ſhould be leſſened, much leſs extinguiſhed; and that which would have the moſt univerſal bleſſing to the whole kingdom would have been received by them as the greateſt curſe that could befal them. One day the chancellor and the lord Arlington were together alone, and the ſecretary, according to his cuſtom, ſpeaking ſoberly of many great miſcarriages by the licenſe of the court, and how much his majeſty ſuffered thereby, when the king ſuddenly came into the room to them, and after he was ſat, asked them what they were talking of, to which the chancellor anſwered, that he would tell him honeſtly and truly, and was not ſorry for the opportunity, and the other looking with a very troubled countenance he proceeded and ſaid, that they were ſpeaking of his majeſty, and, as they did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he lived, both with re-

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ſpect to himſelf, who by the exceſs of pleaſures which he indulged to himſelf, was indeed without the true delight and reliſh of any, and in reſpect to his government, which he totally neglected, and of which the kingdom was ſo ſenſible, that it could not be long before he felt the ill effects of it; that the people were well prepared, and well inclin'd to obey; but if they found that he either would not or could not command their temper would quickly be changed, and he would find leſs obedience in all places, than was neceſſary for his affairs; and that it was too evident and viſible that he had already loſt very much of the affection and reverence the nation had for him; he ſaid that this was the ſubject they two were diſcourſing upon when his majeſty entered, and that it is the argument upon which all thoſe of his council, with whom he had any converſation, did every day enlarge when they were together, with grief of heart and even with tears; and that he hoped that ſome of them did with that duty that became them, repreſent to his majeſty their own ſenſe, and the ſenſe his good ſubjects had of his condition of living, both with reference to God, who had wrought ſuch miracles for him and expected ſome proportionable return, and with reference to his people, who were in the higheſt diſcontent. He doubted all men did not diſcharge their duty this way, and ſome had confeſſed to him that they durſt not do it leaſt they might offend him; which he had aſſured them often that they would not do, having had ſo often himſelf experience of his goodneſs, and that he had the rather taken this opportunity to make this repreſentation to him in the preſence of another, which he had never uſed to do; and concluded with beſeeching his majeſty to believe that, which he had often ſaid to him; that no prince could be more miſerable, nor could have

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more reaſon to fear his own ruin, than he who hath no ſervants, who dare contradict him in his opinions, or adviſe him, againſt his inclination, how natural ſoever. The king heard all this, and more, to the ſame effect, with his uſual temper (for he was a patient hearer) and ſpake ſenſibly, as if he thought that much, that had been ſaid, was with too much reaſon; when the other, who wiſhed not ſuch an effect from the diſcourſe, inſtead of ſeconding any thing that had been ſaid, made uſe of the warmth the chancellor was in, and of ſome expreſſions he had uſed, to fall into railery, which was his beſt faculty; and with which he diverted the king from any further ſerious reflections, and both of them grew very merry with the other; and reproach'd his overmuch ſeverity, now he grew old, and conſidered not the infirmities of younger men; which encreaſed the paſſion he was in, and provoked him to ſay, that it was obſerved abroad, that it was a faculty very much improved of late in the court, to laugh at thoſe arguments they could not anſwer; and which would always be requited with the ſame mirth, amongſt thoſe who were enemies to it; and therefore it was pity that it ſhould be ſo much embraced by thoſe who pretended to be friends; and to uſe ſome other plain expreſſions which it may be were not warily enough uſed, and which the good lord forgot not to put the king in mind of; and to deſcant upon the preſumption in a ſeaſon that was more ripe for ſuch reflections, which at the preſent he forbore to do, and for ſome time after remember'd only on merry occaſions.

Tho' the king did not yet, nor in a good time after appear to diſlike the liberty the chancellor preſumed to take with him, who often told him that he knew he made himſelf grievous to him, and gave his enemies too great ad-

vantages againſt him; but that the conſcience of having never failed to inform his majeſty of any thing that was fit for him to know and to believe; and the only ſupport he had to bear the preſent trouble of his mind, and to prepare him for thoſe diſtreſſes, which he foreſaw he was to undergo; and which his majeſty heard with great goodneſs and condeſcenſion, and vouchſafed ſtill to tell him, that it was in no-body's power to divert his kindneſs from him, yet he found, every day that ſome argument grew leſs acceptable to him; and that the conſtant converſation with men of great profaneneſs, whoſe wit conſiſted in abuſing ſcripture; and in the repeating and acting what the preachers ſaid in their ſermons, and turning it into ridicule; (a faculty in which the duke of Buckingham excelled) did much leſſen the natural eſteem and reverence he had for the clergy, as a rank of men, who compounded a religion for their own advantage, and to ſerve their own turns. Nor was all he could ſay to him, of weight enough to make impreſſion to the contrary; and then he ſeem'd to think, that men were bolder in the examining his actions, and cenſuring them, than they ought to be, and once he told him, that he thought he was more ſevere againſt common infirmities, than he ſhould be; and that his wife was not courteous, in returning viſits and civilities to thoſe who paid her reſpect; and that he expected that all his friends ſhould be very kind to thoſe, who they knew were much loved by him, and that he thought ſo much juſtice was due to him. The chancellor, who had never diſſented with him, but on the contrary, had always endeavoured to perſuade him to believe, that diſſimulation was the moſt diſhoneſt and ungentlemanly quality, that could be affected; anſwered him very roundly, that he might ſeem not to underſtand his meaning,

meaning, and ſo make no reply to the diſcourſe he had made; but that he underſtood it all, and the meaning of every word of it, and therefore that it would not become him to ſuffer his majeſty to depart with an opinion, that what he had ſaid would produce any alteration in his behaviour towards him, or reformation of his manners towards any other perſons. That for the firſt part, the liberty men took to ſpeak of him, and to cenſure his actions, he was of the opinion that it was a very great preſumption, and a crime very fit to be puniſhed; for let it be true or falſe, men had been always ſeverely chaſtiſed for that licenſe, becauſe it tended to ſedition; however he put his majeſty in mind, of the example of Philip of Macedon, who, when one of his ſervants accuſed a perſon of condition to him, of having ſpoken ill of him, and offered to go himſelf to the magiſtrate, to make proof of it, anſwered him, that the perſon he accuſed, was a man of the greateſt reputation, of wiſdom and integrity in the kingdom, and therefore, it would be fit, in the firſt place to examine, whether himſelf, (the king) had not done ſomewhat, by which he had deſerved to be ſo ſpoken of. Indeed this way the beſt man would often receive benefit from their worſt enemies; for the matter itſelf, he ſaid, he need no apology, for that it was notoriouſly known, that he had conſtantly given it in charge to all the judges, to make diligent enquiry into miſdemeanors and tranſgreſſions of that magnitude, and to puniſh thoſe who were guilty in the moſt exemplary manner; and that he took not more pains any way, than to preſerve in the hearts of the people, that veneration for his perſon, that is due to his dignity; and perſuade many, who appeared afflicted with the reports they heard, that they heard more than was true; and

that the ſuppreſſing all reports of that kind, was the duty of every good ſubject; and would contribute more towards the reforming any thing, that in truth is amiſs, than the propagating it in ſcandal by ſpreading it in diſcourſes could do. However that all this which was his duty, and but his duty, did not make it unfit for him, or any other under his obligations, in fit ſeaſons to make a lively repreſentation to his majeſty of what is done, and how ſecretly ſoever, cannot be juſtified or excuſed; and of the untruths and ſcandals which ſpring from thence, to his irreparable diſhonour and prejudice; for the other part of want of ceremony and reſpect for thoſe who were loved and eſteemed by his majeſty, he might likewiſe avoid enlarging upon that ſubject, by putting his majeſty in mind, that he had the honour to ſerve him in a province, that excuſed him from making viſits, and exempted him from all ceremonies of that kind; but he would not ſhelter himſelf under ſuch a general defence, when he perceived that his majeſty had in the reprehenſion, a particular intention, and therefore he confeſſed ingeniouſly to his majeſty, that he did deny himſelf many liberties, which in themſelves might be innocent enough, and agreeable to his perſon, becauſe they would not be agreeable or decent to the office he held; which obliged him for his majeſty's honour, and to preſerve him from the reproach of having put a light perſon into a grave place, to have the more care of his own carriage and behaviour; and that as it would reflect upon his majeſty himſelf, if his character was known or thought to be of diſſolute and debauched manners, which would make him as uncapable as unworthy to do him ſervice; ſo it would be a blemiſh and taint upon him, to give any countenance, and to pay more than

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ordinary, curſory, and unavoidable civilities to perſons infamous for any vice, for which, by the laws of God or man, they ought to be odious, and to be expoſed to the judgment of the church and ſtate; and that he would not for his own ſake, and his own dignity, to how low a condition ſoever he might be reduced, ſtoop to ſuch a condeſcenſion, as to have the leaſt commerce, or to make the application of a viſit to any ſuch perſon, for any relief or advantage that it might bring to him. He did beſeech his majeſty not to believe that he hath a prerogative to declare vice, virtue: or to qualify any perſon, who lives in a ſin, and avows it, againſt which, God himſelf hath pronounced damnation, for the company and converſation of innocent and worthy perſons; and that whatever low obedience, which was in truth groſs flattery, ſome people might pay to what they believed would be grateful to his majeſty, they had in their hearts a perfect deteſtation of the perſons they made addreſs to; and that for his part, he was long reſolved, that his wife ſhould not be one of thoſe courtiers, and that he would himſelf much leſs like her company, if ſhe put herſelf into theirs, who had not the ſame innocence. The king was not the more pleaſed for the defence he made, and did not diſſemble his diſlike of it, without any other ſharpneſs, than by telling him, that he was in the wrong, and had an underſtanding different from all other men, who had experience in the world. It is moſt certain, it was an avowed doctrine, and with great addreſs daily inſinuated to the king, that princes had many liberties, which private perſons have not; and that a lady of honour, who dedicates herſelf only to pleaſe a king, and continues faithful to him, ought not be branded with any

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name or mark of infamy, but hath been always look'd upon by all perſons well bred, as worthy of reſpect; and to this purpoſe, the hiſtory of all the amours of his grandfather were carefully preſented to him; and with what indignation he ſuffer'd any diſreſpect towards any of his miſtreſſes.

But of all theſe artifices the chancellor had no apprehenſion, out of the confidence he had in the integrity of the king's nature; and that though he might be ſway'd to ſacrifice his preſent affections to his appetite, that he could never be prevail'd upon to entertain a real ſuſpicion of his very paſſionate affection and duty to his perſon; that which gave him moſt trouble, and many times made him wiſh himſelf in any private condition, ſeparated from the court, was that unfixedneſs and irreſolution of judgment that was natural to all his family of the male-line; which often expoſed them all to the importunities of bold, and to the ſnares of crafty men. One day the king and the duke came to the chancellor together, and the king told him, with a very viſible trouble in his countenance, that they were come to confer and adviſe with him upon an affair of importance, which exceedingly diſquieted them both; that Dick Talbot, which was the familiar appellation, according to the ill cuſtom of the court, that moſt men gave him, had a reſolution to aſſaſſinate the duke of Ormond; that he had ſworn in the preſence of two or three perſons of honour, that he would do it in revenge of ſome injuries, which he pretended he had done his family; that he had much rather fight with him, which he knew the Duke would be willing enough to do; but that he ſhould never be able to bring to paſs, and therefore he would take his

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revenge in any way that ſhould offer itſelf; and every one knew that the man had courage and wickedneſs enough to attempt any thing like it; that the duke of Ormonde knew well enough that the fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act it, but that he thought it below him to apprehend it; and that his majeſty came to the notice of it by the earl of Clancarty, to whom Sir Robert Talbot the elder brother of the other told it, to the end that the earl might give the duke notice of it, and find ſome way to prevent it; and the earl had that day informed the king of it, as the beſt way he could think of to prevent it. His majeſty ſaid there remained no doubt to be made of the truth of it; for there were two or three more of unqueſtionable credit, who had heard him uſe the ſame expreſſions; and that he had firſt ſpoken with his brother, whoſe ſervant he was; whom he found equally incenſed as himſelf; and that they came immediately together, to conſult with him what was to be done. The chancellor knew all the brothers well, and was believed to have too much prejudice to them all. They were of an Iriſh family, but of an ancient Engliſh extraction; which had always inhabited within that circle, which was called the Pale; which being originally an Engliſh plantation, was, in ſo many hundred years, for the moſt part degenerated into the manners of the Iriſh; and roſe and mingled with them in the late rebellion; and of this family there were two diſtinct families, who had competent eſtates, and lived in many deſcents in the rank of gentlemen of quality; and thoſe brothers were all the ſons or grandſons of one who was a judge in Ireland, and eſteemed a learned man: the eldeſt was Sir Robert Talbot, who

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was by much the beſt, that is, the reſt were much worſe men; he was a man whom the duke of Ormond moſt eſteemed, of thoſe who had been in rebellion; as one who had leſs malice than moſt of the reſt; and had recommended him to the king, as a perſon fit for his favour; but, becauſe he did not aſk all on his behalf, which he muſt have done for a man entirely innocent, this refuſal was looked upon as the higheſt diſobligation. The ſecond brother was a Jeſuit, who had been very troubleſome to the king abroad; and had behaved himſelf in ſo inſolent a manner, that his majeſty had forbidden him his court; after which he went into England, and applied himſelf to the ruling power there, and was by that ſent into Spain, at the time when the treaty was at Fontarabia, between the two Crowns, to procure that England might be included in that peace, and the king excluded, and not ſuffered to remain in Flanders: of all which his majeſty having advertiſement, ſent poſitive orders to Sir H. Bennet, his reſident then at Madrid, to complain of him, and to deſire Don Lewis de Haro, that he might receive no countenance in that court; but the jeſuit had better and more powerful recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but which was very ſtrange (conſidering his talent of underſtanding) in a ſhort time, got ſo much intereſt in the reſident, that he received him into all kinds of familiarity and truſt, and undertook to reconcile the king to him, and was as good as his word; and from the time of his majeſty's return, or rather from the return of Sir H. Bennet, he was as much, and as buſy in the court, as if he were a domeſtick ſervant; and after the queen came to Whitehall, he was admitted one of her almoners, and walked with the ſame or more freedom

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in the king's houſe, and in the clergy habit, than any of his majeſty's chaplains did, who did not preſume to be ſeen in the galleries, and other reſerved rooms, where he was converſant with the ſame confidence as if he were of the bed-chamber. The third brother was Gilbert, who was Col. Talbott, from ſome command he had with the rebels, againſt the king; and he had likewiſe been with the king in Flanders; that is, had lived in Antwerp and Bruſſels, while the king was there, and being a half-witted fellow did not meddle with any thing, nor anger'd any-body; but found a way to get good cloaths, and to play; and was look'd upon, as a man of courage, having fought a duel or two with ſtout men. The fourth brother was a franciſcan friar, of wit enough, but of ſo notorious debauchery, that he was frequently under ſevere diſcipline, by the ſuperiors of his order, for his ſcandalous life; which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland; but not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always call'd his fools coat; and came ſeldom into thoſe places where he was known; and ſo wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the places where the king was; and ſo he came to Cologn, Bruſſels, and Bruges; and being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother; the jeſuit, who had not ſo good natural parts, tho' by his education he had more ſobriety, and lived without ſcandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbott, and after the king's return, was in London, in his man's cloaths, (as he call'd them) and with the natural licence of an Iriſh friar (which are a people, for the moſt part of the whole creation, the

moſt ſottiſh and the moſt brutal) and againſt his obedience, and all orders of his ſuperiors, who interdicted him to ſay maſs. The fifth brother was this Dick Talbott, who gave the king and the duke the trouble mentioned before. He was brought into Flanders, firſt by Daniel O'Neale, as one who was willing to aſſaſſinate Cromwell; and he made a journey into England with that reſolution, not long before his death; and after it returned into Flanders, ready to do all that he ſhould be required. He was a very handſome young man, wore good cloaths, and withall of a clear ready courage, which was virtue enough to recommend a man to the duke's good opinion, which with more expedition than could be expected, he got to that degree that he was made of his bed-chamber; and from that qualification imbark'd himſelf after the king's return in the pretences of the Iriſh, with ſuch an unuſual confidence, and upon private contracts, with very ſcandalous circumſtances, that the chancellor had ſometimes at the council-table been obliged to give him ſevere reprehenſions, and often deſired the duke to withdraw his countenance from him. He had likewiſe declared very loudly againſt the jeſuit, and tho' he had made many addreſſes to him by letters, and by ſome friends who had credit with him, would never from the time of the king's return, be perſuaded to ſpeak with him; and had once prevail'd with the king ſo far, that he was forbid to come to the court; but he had a friend, who after ſome time got that reſtraint off again. The chancellor had likewiſe obſerved the friar to be frequently in the Galleries, and ſometimes drunk there; and caus'd him to be forbid to come into the court, and the eldeſt brother, towards whom he had rather kindneſs than prejudice, finding

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many obſtructions in his pretences, was perſuaded to think him not his friend, and ſo he got the reproach of being an enemy to the whole family.

This conſideration did really affect the chancellor ſo that he appear'd more reſerv'd, and more wary in this particular propos'd by the king, and by the duke, than he uſed to be. He ſaid, that in many reſpects he was not ſo fit to adviſe in this particular, as other men were; tho' this man's behaviour was ſo ſcandalous, that it deſerv'd exemplary puniſhment; yet he did not conceive any preſent danger from it; that he would deny it, and repent and give any other ſatisfaction that would be requir'd or aſſign'd; and he wiſhed that his majeſty and the duke would be prevail'd with to take off their diſpleaſure, and therefore not to make ſuch a matter public, which conſidering the perſon and circumſtances, would make a deep impreſſion upon the minds of all wiſe men; rather than after the world takes notice of it, to paſs it over with a light and ordinary puniſhment. The king interrupted him, as he was going on, and told him, there was no danger of that, and that he would deal freely with him; that as the offence was in itſelf unpardonable, ſo he and his brother, were reſolved to take this opportunity and occaſion to free themſelves from the importunity of the whole family; that all the brothers were naughty fellows, and had no good meaning; and thereupon his majeſty enlarg'd with much ſharpneſs upon the jeſuit and friar, with charges upon both very weighty and unanſwerable; and the duke upon this man, who was the ſubject of the debate; and both concluded, that they ſhould be in great eaſe, by the abſence of all of them, which ſhould be injoined, as ſoon as a reſolution ſhould be taken in this particular. The chan-

cellor knew that there was ſomewhat elſe, which was not ſo fit to be mention'd, that had offended both of them as much; and thought that he had reaſon to believe, that they would be both reſolute in the puniſhment; and that they had deliberated it too long to depart from the proſecution. He therefore advis'd, that the gentleman ſhould be preſently apprehended and examined upon the words which ſome witneſſes ſhould be ready to affirm; and that thereupon he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; and the next day, that his majeſty ſhould inform the privy-council of the whole, which would without queſtion give direction to his attorney-general, to proſecute this foul miſdemeanor in ſuch a manner, that ſhould put this gentleman in ſuch a condition, that he ſhould not trouble the court with his attendance; and other men ſhould by his example find, that their tongues are not their own, to be employed according to their own malicious pleaſure. The perſon was the ſame night ſent to the Tower, and both the king and the duke declar'd themſelves in the preſence of their ſervants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as poſitively reſolved to take as much vengeance upon the impudent preſumption of the offender, as the rigour of the law would inflict; as ever they had done upon any occurrence and accident in their lives; and if they had had perſons enough about them, who out of a juſt ſenſe of their honour, would have confirmed them in the judgment they were of, it would have been in no-body's power to have ſhaken them; but as from the firſt day of his commitment the ſervants near the perſon both of the king and duke, preſumed againſt all ancient order, which made it a crime in any to perform thoſe civilities to perſons declared to be under his majeſty's diſpleaſure, to viſit Mr. Talbott, and to cenſure

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thoſe who had advis'd his commitment; and after ſome few days, when they thought the duke's paſſion in ſome degree abated, the lord Berkeley confidently told the duke that he ſuffer'd much in the opinion of the world, in permitting a ſervant of ſo near relation to his perſon, to be committed to priſon for a few haſty and unadvis'd words, to which he had been provok'd; and that it was well enough known, that it was by the contrivement and advice of the chancellor, who was taken notice of to be an enemy to that whole family, nor any great friend to any of his highneſſes ſervants; and if he had that credit to remove any of them from his perſon, there would in a ſhort time few of them be found in his court. This was ſeconded by all the ſtanders by, and tho' it did not ſuddainly work its effect, yet the continual preſſing it, by degrees weaken'd the reſolution, and the ſame offices being with equal importunity perform'd towards the king, and the more zeal after it was publiſh'd, that the whole was done by the chancellor's procurement, both his majeſty and his highneſs grew weary of their ſeverity, and upon conference together reſolv'd to interpoſe with the duke for his remiſſion, who diſdain'd to make himſelf a proſecutor in ſuch a tranſgreſſion: and ſo the priſoner return'd to Whitehall, with the advantage which men who have been unjuſtly impriſon'd, uſually receive, and all men thought he triumph'd over the chancellor, who, how unconcern'd ſoever, knew every day the leſs how to behave himſelf; and this unhappy condition grew ſo notorious, for there were too many inſtances of it, that all men grew leſs reſolute in matters which concerned the king, and drew the diſpleaſure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

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According to the laſt prorogation the parliament conven'd again, upon the one and twentieth day of September, when the king told them, that he was very glad to meet ſo many of them together again, and thank'd God for their meeting together again in that place; he ſaid, little time had paſs'd ſince they were almoſt in deſpair of having that place left to meet in; they ſaw the diſmal ruins the fire had made, and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preſerved what was left, from the ſame deſtruction: His majeſty told them, he need make no excuſe to them, for having diſpenſed with their attendance in April, he was confident they all thank'd him for it; the truth is, he deſired to put them to as little trouble as he could, and he could tell them truly, that he deſired to put them to as little coſt as poſſible; he wiſh'd with all his heart that he could bear the whole charge of the war himſelf, and that his ſubjects ſhould reap the whole benefit of it to themſelves; but he had two great and powerful enemies, who uſed all the ways they could, fair and foul, to make all the world to concur with them, and the war was more chargeable by that conjunction, than any body thought it would have been; he needed not tell them the ſucceſs of the ſummer, in which God had given them great ſucceſs, and no queſtion the enemy had undergone great loſſes; and if it had pleaſed God to have with-held his late judgment by fire, he had been in no ill condition. His majeſty confeſſed, that they had given him very large ſupplies for carrying on the war; and yet he told them, that if he had not by anticipating his own revenue, raiſed a very great ſum of money, he had not been able to have ſet out the fleet the laſt ſpring; and he had ſome hope upon the ſame credit to be able to pay off the great ſhips as they

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ſhould come in. They would conſider what was to be done next, when they were well inform'd of the expence; and he would leave it to their wiſdoms to find out the beſt expedients for the carrying on the war, with as little burthen to the people as was poſſible. He ſaid he would add no more than to put them in mind that their enemies were very inſolent; and if they were able to perſuade their miſerable people whom they miſled, that the contagion had ſo waſted the nation, and impoveriſhed the king, that he would not be able to ſet out any fleet; how would they be exalted with this laſt impoveriſhment of the city, and contemn all reaſonable conditions of peace; and therefore he could not doubt but that they would provide accordingly. Indeed the king did not till now underſtand the damage he had ſuſtained by the plague, much leſs what he muſt ſuſtain from the fire. Money could neither be collected nor borrowed, where the plague had prevailed which was over all the city, and over a great part of the country; the collectors durſt not go to require it, or receive it, yet the fountains remained yet clear, and the waters would run again; but this late conflagration had dried up or ſo ſtopped the very fountains, that there was no proſpect when they would flow. The two great branches of the revenue, the cuſtoms and exciſe, which was the great and almoſt inexhauſtable ſecurity to borrow money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in money nor ſupply credit. All the meaſures by which computations had been made, were ſo broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a medium of the conſtant receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that fund, would by this time have been fully ſatisfy'd with all the intereſt, whereby

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the money would have been replaced in the hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the ſecurity remain'd ſtill in vigour to be apply'd to any other urgent occaſions. But now the plague had routed all thoſe receipts eſpecially in London, where the great conduits of theſe receipts ſtill run; the plague and the war had ſo totally broken and diſtracted thoſe receipts, that the farmers of either had not received enough to diſcharge the conſtant burthen of the officers, and were ſo far from paying any part of the principal that was ſecured upon it, that it left the intereſt unpaid, to ſwell the principal: and now this deluge by fire, had diſſipated the perſons, and deſtroyed the houſes which were liable to the reimburſement of all arrears, and the very ſtocks conſumed, which ſhould carry on and revive the trade; and the third next conſiderable branch of the revenue, the chimney money was determined, and the city muſt be rebuilt before any body could be required to pay for his chimneys. This was the true ſtate of the crown, if all other inconveniencies and caſual expences had been away, and all application to things ſerious had been made by all perſons concerned; and this woeful proſpect was in view when the parliament met again, which came not together with the better countenance, by ſeeing all hopes abroad with ſo ſad an aſpect, and all things at home (that troubled them much more) appear ſo deſperate in many reſpects; yet within few days after the king had ſpoken to them, and the houſe of commons being moſtly filled with the king's ſervants, the gentlemen of the country being not yet come, there was a faint vote procured, that they would give a ſupply to the king, proportionable to his wants, without mentioning any ſum; nor

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which way it ſhould be raiſed, nor from that minute did they make the reflection upon that engagement in many months after, whilſt the enemy much more exalted than ever, believed, as they had good cauſe, that they ſhould reap much greater benefit by the burning of London than they had from the contagion.

When the number of the members increaſed, the parliament appeared more chagrined, than it had hitherto done, and tho' they made the ſame profeſſions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court, and the continual riotings there; and the very idle diſcourſes of ſome, who were much countenanced upon the miſerable event of the fire, made them even believe that the former jealouſies of the city, when they ſaw their houſes burning at ſuch a diſtance from each other, were not without ſome foundation, nor without juſt apprehenſion of a conſpiracy; and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore they appointed a committee with large authority to ſend for and examine all perſons, who could give any information concerning it. When any mention was made of the declaration they had ſo lately paſſed, for giving the king ſupply, and that it was high time to diſpatch it; that all neceſſary proviſions might be made for the ſetting out a fleet againſt the ſpring; it was anſwered with paſſion, that the king's wants muſt be made firſt to appear, before any ſupply muſt be diſcourſed of; that there were already ſuch vaſt ſums of money given to the king, that there was none left in the country; nor could any commodities there, upon which they ſhould raiſe wherewith to pay their taxes, be ſold for want of money, which was all brought to London in ſpecie; and none left to carry on the commerce and trade in the country;

where they could not ſell their corn or their cattle, or their wool for half the value. They who had not ſat in the parliament at Oxford, were exceedingly vexed that there had been ſo much given there, ſo ſoon after the two millions and a half had been granted; and ſaid if the king wanted again already that he muſt have been abominably cheated, which was fit to be examined; that the number of the ſhips which had been ſet out by the king in ſeveral fleets, ſince the beginning of this war, was no ſecret, and that there are men enough, who are acquainted with the charge of ſetting out, and manning, and victualling ſhips, and can make thereby a reaſonable computation what this vaſt expence can amount to, and that they cannot but conclude, that, if his majeſty hath been honeſtly dealt with, there muſt remain ſtill a very great proportion of money to carry on the war, without need of impoſing more upon the people, till they are better able to bear it; and therefore that it was abſolutely neceſſary that all thoſe, through whoſe hands the money had paſt, ſhould firſt give an exact account of what they had received, and what, or how they had disburſed it; and when that ſhould appear, it would be ſeaſonable to demand an addition of ſupply, which would be chearfully granted; and for the better expedition of this (for every body confeſſed that the time preſs'd) it was propoſed, that forthwith a bill ſhould be prepared, which ſhould paſs into an act of parliament, in which ſuch commiſſioners ſhould be appointed, as the houſes ſhould think fit, to examine all the accounts of thoſe who had received or iſſued out any monies for this war; and where they found any perſons faulty, and who had broken their truſt, they ſhould be liable to ſuch puniſhment as the parliament ſhould think fit; and a committee was preſently named to prepare ſuch a bill accordingly;

ly; this propoſition found ſuch a concurrence in the houſe, that none of the court thought fit to oppoſe it, and others, who knew the method to be new, and liable to juſt exceptions, thought it to as little purpoſe to endeavour to divert it; and ſo all motions for preſent ſupply were to be laid aſide, till a more favourable conjuncture, and the overture had been contrived and put on by many who ſeem'd not to like it, which is an artifice not unuſual in courts or parliament; the perſons who were principally aim'd at (for no doubt they believed that others would be comprehended) were Sir George Carteret, the treaſurer of the navy; through whom all that expenſe had paſſed, who had many enemies upon the opinion that his office was too great, and the more by the ill offices Sir William Coventry was always ready to do him; and the lord Aſhley, who was treaſurer of all the money, that had been raiſed upon prizes, which could not but be a great proportion. The former was a punctual officer, and a good accomptant, and had already paſt his account in the exchequer for two years, upon which he had his quietus eſt. which was the only lawful way known and practiced by all accomptants to this crown, who can receive a good diſcharge no other way: and he was ready to make another years account; but what method commiſſioners extraordinary by act of parliament would put it into he could not imagine, nor be well ſatisfied with the other. The lord Aſhley had more reaſon to be troubled, for he was by his commiſſion exempted from giving any other account but to the king himſelf; which exemption was the only reaſon that made him ſo ſolicitous for the office; and he well knew that there was great ſums iſſued, which could not be put into any public account, ſo that his perplexity in ſeveral reſpects was not ſmall,

and they both apply'd themſelves to the king, for his protection in the point. His majeſty was no leſs troubled, and knew that both had iſſued out many ſums upon his warrants, which he would not ſuffer to be produced; and call'd that committee of the privy council, with which he uſed to adviſe; and complained of this unuſual way of proceeding in the houſe of commons; which would terrify all men from ſerving his majeſty in any receipts; to which employment men ſubmitted becauſe they knew not what to do, and what they were to ſuffer. If they made their account according to the known rules of the exchequer, their diſcharge could not be denied; and if they failed, they knew what proceſs would be awarded againſt them: but to account by ſuch orders as the parliament ſhould preſcribe; and to be liable to ſuch puniſhment as the parliament would inflict, was ſuch an uncertainty as would deprive them of all reſt and quiet of mind, and was in itſelf ſo unjuſt, that his majeſty declared that he would never ſuffer it; that he hoped it would never find a conſent in the houſe of commons; if it ſhould that the houſe of peers would reject it; but if it ſhould be brought to him, he was reſolved never to give his royal aſſent. There was no man preſent, who did not ſeem fully to concur with his majeſty, that he ſhould never conſent to it; however that the beſt care and diligence ſhould be uſed, that it might never be preſented to him, but ſtopped in the houſes; and to that purpoſe, that the members ſhould be prepared, by giving them notice of his pleaſure. The chancellor, upon this argument, in which he deſcerned no oppoſition, enlarged himſelf upon what he had often before put his majeſty in mind of; that he could not be too indulgent in the defence of the privileges of parliament; that he hoped

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he would never violate any of them; but he desired him to be equally solicitous to prevent the excesses in parliament; and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with; and that to restrain them within their proper bounds and limits is as necessary as it is to preserve them from being invaded; that this was such a new encroachment as had no bottom, and the scars were yet too fresh and green of those wounds which had been inflicted upon the kingdom, from such usurpation; and therefore he desired his majesty to be firm in the resolution he had taken, and not to depart from it; and if such a bill should be brought up to the house of peers, he would not fail in doing his duty, and speaking freely his opinion against such innovations; how many soever it might offend. All which discourse of his was in a short time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make use of it to his disadvantage.

There was a correspondence by this time begun, and warmly pursued between some discontented members of the house of peers, who thought their parts not enough valued; and the duke of Buckingham was in the head of them: and some members of the house of commons, who made themselves remarkable by opposing all things which were proposed in that house, for the king's service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as Sir R. Temple, Mr. Seymour, Mr. Ganoway, and Sir Robert Howard, who were bold speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable, by saying upon all occasions, what wiser men would not, whatever they thought. The Duke took more pains than was agreeable to his constitution, to get an interest in all such persons; invited them to his table; pretended to have a great esteem of their parts; asked council of them;

lamented

lamented the king's neglecting his buſineſs, and committing it to other people, who were not fit for it; and then reported all the licenſe and debauchery of the court, in the moſt lively courage, being himſelf a frequent eye and ear witneſs of it. He had a mortal quarrel with the lady, and was at this time ſo much in the king's diſpleaſure, as he was very frequently, that he forbore going to the court, and revenged himſelf upon it, by all the merry tales he could tell of what was done there: it cannot be immagined, conſidering the looſe life he led, which was a life by night more than by day, in all the liberties that nature could deſire, or wit invent, how great an intereſt he had in both houſes of parliament; that is, how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he propoſed. His quality and condeſcention, the pleaſantneſs of his humour and converſation, the extravagance and ſharpneſs of his wit unreſtrained by any modeſty or religion, drew perſons of all affections and inclinations to like his company; and to believe that theſe levities and theſe vanities would be wrought off by age; and there would be enough of good left to become a great man, and make him uſeful to his country, for which he pretended to have a wonderful affection and reverence; and that all his diſpleaſure againſt the court, proceeded from their declared malignity againſt the liberty of the ſubject, and their deſire that the king ſhould govern by the example of France. He had always held intelligence with the principal perſons of the levelling party, and profeſſed to deſire that liberty of conſcience might be granted to all, and exerciſed his wit with moſt licenſe againſt the church, the law, and the court: The king had conſtant intelligence of all his behaviour; and the liberty he took in his diſcourſes of him, for which he had indignation enough

but

but of this new ſtratagem to make himſelf great in parliament, and to have a faction there to diſturb his buſineſs, his majeſty had no apprehenſion; believing it impoſſible for the duke to keep his mind long bent upon any particular deſign, and to keep and obſerve thoſe orders and hours of ſleeping and eating, as men, who pretend to buſineſs are obliged to; and that it was more impoſſible for him to make and preſerve a friendſhip with any ſerious perſons, whom he could never reſtrain himſelf from abuſing and making ridiculous, as ſoon as he was out of their company; yet with all thoſe infirmities and vices he found a reſpect and concurrence from men of different tempers and talents, and had an incredible opinion with the people; the great object of his diſlike, diſpleaſure, and hatred was the duke of Ormond, who being his equal in title, and ſuperior in credit with the king, and at leaſt equal to him in all other reſpects, he looked upon him as his rival; and that his conſtant attendance upon the king through all his fortunes, was a reproach to him for not having performed his duty that way; and gave him a general reputation in the kingdom, with all men who had been faithful to the crown. The duke of Ormond's younger ſon had married his niece, who was the heir apparent to his houſe; to which tho' he had given his conſent, when he ſaw it was not in his power to contradict it; yet he pretended that the duke had made many promiſes of friendſhip to him, which he had not made good; whereas in truth the other did really deſire and had heartily endeavoured to do him all the good offices he could with the king, which ſome other new extravagance of his own diſappointed and made ineffectual; let the ground or reaſon be what they

will

will he did not diſſemble to hate the duke of Ormond heartily, and to be willing to undertake the proſecution of any complaint againſt him; of which in that diſtemper'd and disjointed condition of Ireland, could not be wanting; as ſoon as it was known that ſuch a patron was ready to undertake their defence. And it cannot be denied that the ſpirit of envy is ſo powerful, that there were too many who had no affection for the duke of Buckingham, who were yet willing that any thing ſhould be done to the prejudice of the duke of Ormond, who they thought eclipſed the nobility of England.

There had been for many months a murmur, rather than complaint of the great damage the kingdom in general ſuſtained by the importation of ſuch great quantities of Iriſh cattle, which were bred there for nothing, and tranſported for little; that they might well under-ſell all the cattle here; and from hence the breed of cattle in the kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the lands would yield no rent proportionably to what it had ever done, and that this was a principal cauſe of the want of money in the country, which could only be remedied by a very ſtrict act of parliament, to forbid the importation of any ſort of cattle out of Ireland, into this kingdom; and ſome of them, who had moſt thought of the matter, had prepared a bill, and brought it into the houſe of commons, where it was read; at firſt it underwent very calm and reaſonable debates, very many members of ſeveral countries deſired that their countries might not undergo any damage for the benefit of other individual places; they profeſſed that their countries had no land bad enough to breed, but that their great traffic conſiſted in buying lean cattle, and making them fat; and upon this

this they paid their rent, and if the bringing over Iriſh cattle ſhould be reſtrained, their countries muſt be undone; and this appeared to be the caſe of very many countries in England, and the complaint was of ſo new a nature, that it had never been heard of in England till ſome few months before this meeting in parliament; only it had been mentioned in the parliament at Oxford, as a grievance to the northern countries, which complained no leſs of the Scotch than of the Iriſh cattle; and the bill that was at this time brought into the houſe of commons, provided as well againſt the one as the other. Whether this complaint originally proceeded from the damage which the people of ſome counties ſuſtained, or thought they ſuſtained, which made their members in parliament preſs the reſtraint with much earneſtneſs; and it cannot be denied that many worthy men were paſſionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious conteſts, to comply with the humours of other men; is not ſo eaſy to other men to judge of, as for thoſe who ſat in the houſes, and obſerved the manner and the paſſion in which thoſe debates were carried on; and it cannot be denyed but that, how innocently ſoever the grievance came firſt to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the conſideration and wiſdom of the houſe, the carrying it on was with unuſual heat and paſſion, different from what appeared in the tranſaction of any other buſineſs, that had an aſpect only to the public, and it was obſerved that the cabal, that is mentioned before, between ſome of the houſe of peers, and of the houſe of commons, began at this time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this affair, which ſuddainly grew to be inſiſted on, as of that importance, that there could be no debate begun with reference to the giving money to the king, till

this bill were firſt paſt. In the mean time the council of Ireland had the alarm of what was intended before the parliament; and did not only write to the king himſelf but a large letter to the lords of the privy-council in which they repreſented the preſent diſtracted condition of that kingdom; that there were more than one hundred thouſand perſons, who had nothing elſe to live upon but their droves of cattle, out of which they twice a year ſent as many as they could ſpare into England, which enabled them to pay their rents, and return ſuch goods and merchandize from thence, as the kingdom ſtood in need of; for no money in ſpecie was returned upon that commerce. That if this liberty of trade, which they had enjoyed in all ages, ſhould be taken from them, the king's army could not be ſupported nor the government maintained, but the kingdom muſt neceſſarily be ruined; and probably a new rebellion, in ſo general a diſcontent as this reſtraint would adminiſter, might be again entered into; and therefore they deſired that at leaſt ſome years might be allowed to that traffick, which had been always enjoyed, to the end that ſome other huſbandry might be introduced into the kingdom, by which the people might live; and which the government would endeavour to plant with all poſſible diligence and encouragement. The king himſelf was ſo much moved with theſe letters, that he declared that he could neither in juſtice nor in conſcience conſent to ſuch a bill, which upon pretence of benefit to one of his kingdoms, might and muſt be ſo miſchievous to the other two (for Scotland, as is ſaid, was yet comprehended as well as Ireland) that he was equally king of all, and obliged to have an equal care of all, and never to conſent to any thing that might be prejudicial to either of the other; eſpecially if the benefit

to the one were not proportionable to, and as evident, as the damage was to the other; and upon theſe grounds he recommended to them to give ſuch a ſtop to this bill that it might never be preſented to him; for if it were he muſt poſitively reject it, and without doubt his majeſty at that time, did not reſolve any thing more within himſelf, than never to give his royal aſſent to that bill: The letters from Ireland did not make the ſame impreſſions upon the lords of the council, who were very much divided in their opinions; even they, whoſe zeal for the king's ſervice was moſt unqueſtionable. Some were upon the ſole conſideration of the injuſtice of it, and the miſchief that it would produce in Ireland, poſitively againſt ever conſenting to it, and as poſitive that it might be ſtopped in the houſe of commons, or thrown out of the lords houſe that it ſhould never come to the king. Others did as much believe that it was a real grievance in which the ſubjects ſhould have relief; and inſiſted much that in a point evidently for the benefit and advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be put into the ſcale, becauſe it would be ſome inconvenience there. Some did in truth think that the king was too much inclined to favour the Iriſh; and in that reſpect were well content that this bill ſhould be a mortification to them; and there wanted not ſome others, who in dark expreſſions (which grew clearer, when the matter came into the houſe of peers) ſeemed to think that the eſtates in Ireland were more valuable than they were in England; and that ſome noblemen of that kingdom lived in a higher garb, and made greater expences than the noble men in England were able to do, which had not been in former times.

but they never conſidered that thoſe noble-men had nothing but what deſcended to them from their anceſtors, and that they had faithfully adhered to the king, and undergone as much damage for doing ſo as any men had done.

The houſe of commons ſeemed much more moroſe and obſtinate, than it had formerly appeared to be, and ſolicitous to graſp as much power and authority as any of their predeceſſors had done; tho' no doubt with no ill intentions. Nor, it may be this would not have ſo much appeared, if there had been the ſame vigour in thoſe who had uſed to conduct the king's buſineſs in that houſe, as there had uſed to be; but that ſpirit was much fallen. The chief men of the court, upon whoſe example other men looked, were much more humble than they had uſed to be; and took more pains to ingratiate themſelves, than to advance the intereſt of their maſter; and inſtead of preſſing what was deſirable upon the ſtrength of reaſon and policy as they had uſed to do, and by which the major part had uſually concurred with them; they now applied themſelves with addreſs to thoſe, who had always forwardly oppoſed whatſoever they thought would be grateful to the king; and deſired rather to buy their votes and concurrence by promiſes of reward and preferment which is the moſt diſhonourable and unthrifty brokery that can be practiſed in parliament, which from this time was much practiſed, and brought many ill things to paſs;) than to prevail upon thoſe weighty and important arguments, which would bear the light. Which low artifice raiſed the inſolence of thoſe, which would as eaſily, as it had been, have been ſtill over-ruled and ſuppreſſed; and was quickly diſcerned by thoſe others

who

who upon the principles of honour and wiſdom had hitherto ſwayed the houſe in all matters of public concernment; and who now concluded by thoſe new condeſcentions, that the former ſober ſpirit and reſolution was laid aſide; and that peviſh men would be compounded with; and ſo reſolved to ſit ſtill, or look on, till the ſucceſs of this ſtratagem might be diſcerned. And by this means the bill for Iriſh cattle was driven on with more fury; and the other concerning accounts more paſſionately ſpoken of; whilſt every day not only many of thoſe, who had conſtantly obſerved the advice that had been given them on the behalf of the king, fell off to the other party; but many of his houſehold ſervants concurred in the bill for Ireland, whilſt the reſt, who did not yet think fit to do ſo, applyed themſelves to the king for his leave, that they might do the ſame And Sir William Coventry who had now by inſinuations and communication, made himſelf very greatful to the refractory party, perſuaded the king that the houſe had taken the Iriſh bill ſo much to heart, that they would never enter upon the debate of money, till that had paſſed the houſe, and was ſent to the lords; who no doubt upon the knowledge of his majeſty's mind and reſolution would eaſily throw it out; that if his ſervants continued obſtinate in oppoſing it below, they ſhould but provoke and anger the houſe, and render themſelves uſeleſs to other parts of his majeſty's more important buſineſs; whereas if they did now gratify the houſe by concurring with them in this matter; they ſhould make themſelves acceptable, have credit enough to divert the bill of accounts, and preſently to diſpoſe every body to enter upon the matter of ſupply; the king was not pleaſed with the council, but had a very good opinion of the coun-

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ſellor, who he believed could not but judge aright of the temper of thoſe, with whom he had ſate; and converſed ſo long; and ſo his majeſty told him he was contented he ſhould follow the dictates of his own judgment and conſcience; and the ſame anſwer he gave to all ſuch members of the houſe of commons, who came to receive his orders; and after all this the bill was carried with great difficulty, and long oppoſition given to it by thoſe members of ſeveral counties which profeſſed that the bringing over the Iriſh cattle, was ſo much for their benefit, that they could not live well without it; and were exceedingly perplexed that it ſhould paſs; which yet they hoped would be prevented in the houſe of peers; and ſo the bill was in great triumph, and by all the members, as in caſes they much delight in is uſual, preſented to the houſe of peers; and the commons no ſooner repaired to their own houſe, than they aſſumed the debate upon the accounts, with the ſame fervour they had purſued the other bill of Ireland; and with the ſame declaration, that they would not enter upon the ſubject of money, till they ſaw what ſucceſs that would likewiſe have, and appearing every day more out of humour, expreſſed leſs reverence towards the court; and ſome expreſſions were frequently uſed, which ſeemed to glance at the licenſe and diſorders, and extravagant expence of that place, not without ſome reflections, which aimed at the lady, and at the exorbitant power exerciſed by her; and thoſe imperious ways of proceeding confirmed thoſe in their waryneſs, who had no mind to oppoſe or contradict the party, that they would and meant ſhould prevail; but the more they endeavoured to render themſelves gracious to the leaders, as being willing to adminiſter fewel to the fire, the others intended to kindle, and ſo they might preſerve themſelves, were very willing to

expoſe

expoſe other miniſters of them, who they thought would not be quiet without ſome ſacrifice; and thus they alarmed the king with the new apprehenſions, that the houſe which had yet dutiful intentions, if they were croſſed in what they deſigned for his ſervice, might be provoked to be bolder with his majeſty than they had been yet; and to mention the prevalence of the lady; which every body knew the duke of Buckingham would have been glad to have contributed to, with theſe continued repreſentations; but eſpecially with their old argument of caſting it out by the houſe of peers, where his power could not be doubted; they at laſt prevailed with the king to leave all men to themſelves, in the buſineſs of the accounts where there was a greater concurrence, as he had done in the Iriſh bill and ſo that bill likewiſe was tranſmitted to the lords; and at this time many wiſe men thought that it would have been very happy for the king, if he would have diſſolved the parliament, and preſently after called another; which would have diſcovered many combinations, when the actors had found themſelves excluded from entering again upon the ſtate: and it would have appeared that all the ſtorms had been raiſed by thoſe winds which had their birth in the king's own houſe; and ſuch a diſſolution (to which the king himſelf was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the kingdom; which naturally doth not love long parliaments, and exceedingly deteſted this for having only given away their money, and raiſed a war, of which they ſaw no end, nor poſſible benefit; without having offered any good laws, for the advancement of the peace and happineſs of the kingdom; and very few of thoſe, who had gotten credit in the houſe, to obſtruct what the king

deſired

desired, were men of any interest or reputation with the people. But as no-body was forward publickly to own and avow this council, the consequence whereof they knew, if it were not consented to, so they who meant to do themselves more good by the present indisposition and distemper, than they could propose from a new convention of men utterly unknown, who were like enough to bring prejudice enough against their own particulars, used all the means they could devise, to divert the king from that inclination. They told him that he would never have such another parliament; where he had near one hundred members of his own menial servants and their near relations, who were all at his disposal, by which they had incurred so much prejudice in the country, that very few of them would ever be elected again. That the present distemper was contracted by accidents and mistakes, and would vanish upon very reasonable condescensions, and in another prorogation; whereas if it should be dissolved and new writs sent out; the people would return none but presbyterians, and known enemies to the church, and such who were most notoriously disaffected to the court: and this argument pressed by men, who had no more affection for the church, than the quakers had, prevailed with most of the bishops to dissuade the king from hearkening to any such advice; when they had much more reason to expect a stronger party in a new parliament, and might have observed that their friends fell from them every day in both houses; and that the court was not propitious to them; of which they had afterwards a sad experience; and which they might then have well foreseen. The house of peers was no sooner possessed of the bill against Irish cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen resolution appeared in many,

many, to uſe all expedition in the paſſing, which if the matter itſelf had been without exception, there were ſo many clauſes and proviſions in it, ſo derogatory to the king's honour and prerogative, that many thought it a high diſreſpect to his majeſty, to admit them into debate. But the duke of Buckingham appeared in the head of thoſe, who favoured the bill, with a marvellous concernment; and at the times appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his cuſtom of coming into the houſe, indeed of not riſing till eleven o'clock, and ſeldom ſtaying above a quarter of an hour, except upon ſome affair which he concerned himſelf in, he was now always preſent with the firſt in the morning, and ſtayed till the laſt at night; for the debate often held from the morning, till four o'clock in the afternoon, and ſometimes till candles were brought in; and it grew quickly evident that there were other reaſons, which cauſed ſo earneſt a proſecution of it above the encouragement of the breed of cattle in England. Inſomuch as the lord Aſhley, who next the duke of Buckingham appeared the moſt violent ſupporter of the bill, could not forbear to urge it as an argument for the proſecuting it; that if this bill did not paſs, all the rents in Ireland would riſe to a vaſt proportion; and thoſe in England, fall as much; ſo that in a year or two the duke of Ormond would have a greater revenue than the earl of Northumberland, which made a viſible impreſſion in many, as a thing not to be endured. Whereas the duke had indeed at leaſt four times the proportion of land in Ireland, that deſcended to him from his anceſtors, that the earl had in England; and the revenue of it before the rebellion, was not inferiour to the other; but nothing was more manifeſt than that the warmth of that perſecution in the houſe of peers in many

lords did proceed from the envy they had of the duke's ſtation in one kingdom, and of his fortune in the other. And the whole debate upon the bill was ſo diſorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: no rules nor orders of the houſe for the courſe and method of debate were obſerved; and there being amongſt thoſe who advanced the bill, fewer ſpeakers than there were of thoſe who were againſt it; thoſe few took upon them to ſpeak oftener than they ought to do; and reply to every man who declared himſelf to be of another opinion; and when they were put in mind of the rule of the houſe, that no man ſhould ſpeak above once upon the ſame queſtion, they called preſently to have the houſe diſſolved into a committee; which any ſingle member may require; and then every man may ſpeak as often as he pleaſe: And ſo the time was ſpent unprofitably, without the buſineſs being advanced. In the mean time the houſe of commons proceeded as irregularly in ſending frequent meſſages to haſten the diſpatch of the bill; when they knew well the debate of every day; and it was frequently urged as an argument that the houſe of commons was the fitteſt judge of the neceſſities and grievances of the people; and they having paſſed this bill, the lords ought to conform to their opinion. In fine, there grew ſo great a licenſe of words in this debate, and ſo many perſonal reflections, that every day ſome quarrels aroſe to the great ſcandal and diſhonour of a court that was the ſupreme judicatory of the kingdom. The duke of Buckingham, who aſſumed a liberty of ſpeaking, when, and what he would, in a dialect unuſual and ungrave; his ſimiles and other expreſſions giving occaſion of much mirth and laughter, one day ſaid in the debate, that whoever was againſt that bill, had either an Iriſh intereſt, or an Iriſh

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underſtanding; which ſo much offended the lord Oſſory, (who was eldeſt ſon to the duke of Ormond, and who had very narrowly eſcaped the cenſure of the houſe lately, for reproaching the lord Aſhley with having been a counſellor to Cromwell) and would not therefore truſt himſelf with giving a preſent anſwer; but meeting him afterwards in the court, deſired the duke that he would walk into the next room with him; and there told him, that he had taken the liberty to uſe many looſe and unworthy expreſſions, which reflected upon the whole Iriſh nation; and which he himſelf reſented ſo much that he expected ſatisfaction, and to find him with his ſword in his hand; which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and ſhifts he could uſe; but ſo far preſſed by the other, whoſe courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place, where they would preſently meet; which he found the other would exact to prevent diſcovery; and therefore had choſen rather to urge it himſelf, than to ſend a meſſage to him. And ſo he named a known place in Chelſea fields; and to be there within leſs than an hour. The lord Oſſory made haſte thither, and expected him much beyond the time; and then ſeeing ſome perſons come out of the way towards the place where he was, he concluded they were ſent out to prevent any action between them; he avoided ſpeaking with them, but got to the place where his horſe was, and ſo retired to London. The duke who was found by himſelf, on the other ſide of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelſea-fields, which he ſaid was the place he had appointed to meet, finding that night that the lord Oſſory was not in cuſtody, and ſo he was ſure he ſhould quickly hear from him; and upon conference with his friends, that the miſtake of the place

would be imputed to him; he took a ſtrange reſolution that every body wondered at, and his friends diſſuaded him from; and the next morning as ſoon as the houſe was ſate, the lord Oſſory being likewiſe preſent, that he found ſome opportunity to ſpeak with him, the duke told the houſe that he muſt inform them of ſomewhat that concerned himſelf; and being ſure that it would come to their notice ſome other way, he had therefore choſe to acquaint them with it himſelf; and thereupon related how the lord Oſſory had the day before found him in the court; and deſired him to walk into the next room, where he charged him with many particulars which he had ſpoken in that place, and in few words told him he ſhould fight him; which tho' he did not hold himſelf obliged to do in maintenance of any thing he had ſaid or done in the parliament, yet that it being ſuitable and agreeable to his nature to fight with any man, who had a mind to fight with him, (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exerciſe and inclination) he appointed the place in Chelſea-fields, which he underſtood to be the field overagainſt Chelſea, whither, having only gone to his lodging to change his ſword, he haſtened by preſently croſſing the water in a pair of oars, and ſtayed there in expectation of the lord Oſſory, until ſuch gentlemen whom he named, found him there; and ſaid they were ſent to prevent his and the lord Oſſory's meeting, whom others were likewiſe ſent to find for the ſame prevention. Whereupon concluding that for the preſent there would be no meeting together, he returned with thoſe gentlemen to his lodging, being always ready to give any gentleman ſatisfaction, that ſhould require it of him. Every body was exceedingly ſurprized with the oddneſs and unſeaſonableneſs of the diſcourſe, which conſiſted with ſome confuſion

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between aggravating the preſumption of the lord Oſſory, and making the offence as henious as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto, and magnifying his own courage and readineſs to fight upon any opportunity; when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a groſs ſhift. And it was wondered at that he had not choſen rather that ſome other perſon might inform the houſe of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined, and the miſchief prevented. But he believed that way would not ſo well repreſent and manifeſt the luſtre of his courage; and might leave him under an examination, that would not be ſo advantageous to him, as his own information; and therefore no perſuaſion and importunity of his friends could prevail with him to decline that method. The lord Oſſory ſeemed out of countenance and troubled, that the conteſt was like to be only in that place; and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accuſed him off, only wondered, that he ſhould ſay, that he had challenged him for words ſpoken in the houſe, when he had expreſly declared to him, when his grace inſiſted much upon the privilege of parliament, to decline giving him any ſatisfaction; that he did not queſtion him for any words ſpoken in parliament; but for words ſpoken in other places; and for affronts, which he had at other times choſen to bear, rather than to diſturb the company. He confeſſed he had attended in the very place, where the duke had done him the honour to promiſe to meet him; and mentioned ſome expreſſions which he had uſed in deſigning it; which left the certainty of it not to be doubted. When they had both ſaid as much as they had a mind to, they were both required, as is the cuſtom, to withdraw to ſeveral rooms, near the houſe; and then the lords entered upon debate of the

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tranſgreſſion; many inſiſting upon the magnitude of the offence; which concerned the honour and ſafety of the higheſt tribunal in the kingdom; and the liberty and ſecurity of every member of the houſe; that if in any debate, any lord exceeded the modeſt limits preſcribed in any offenſive expreſſions, the houſe had the power and the practice to reſtrain, and reprehend, and impriſon the perſon according to the quality and degree of the offence; and that no other remedy and examination could be applied to it even by the king himſelf. But if it ſhould be in any private man to take exception againſt any words which the houſe finds no fault with; and to require men to juſtify with their ſword, all that they ſay in diſcharge of their conſcience, and for the good and benefit of their country, there is an end of the privilege of parliament; and therefore that there could not be too great a puniſhment inflicted upon this notorious and monſtrous offence of the lord Oſſory; which concerned every lord in particular, as much as it did the duke of Buckingham, who had carried himſelf as well as the ill cuſtom and iniquity of the age would admit; and had given no offence to the houſe, towards which he had always paid all poſſible reſpect and reverence. They who conſidered the honour and dignity only of the houſe, and the ill conſequence of ſuch violations as theſe, which way ſoever their affections were thought the tranſgreſſions ſo near equal, that their puniſhment ought to be equal; for that beſides the lord Oſſory's denial that he had any reflection upon any words ſpoken in parliament, which was the aggravation of his offence; there was ſome teſtimony given to the court by ſome lord preſent, that the lord Oſſory had complained of the duke's comportment towards him, before thoſe words uſed in the houſe by him of the Iriſh intereſt, or Iriſh underſtanding, and reſolved to expoſtulate with

with him upon it, ſo that thoſe words could not be the ground of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's own confeſſion and declaration, that he was as ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by himſelf for the encounter, which made the offence equal; and therefore they moved that they might be both brought to the bar, and upon their knees receive the ſentence of the houſe for their commitment to the Tower. Some who would ſhew their kindneſs to the duke, were not willing that he ſhould undergo the ſame puniſhment with the other; until ſome lords who were known not to be his friends, were very earneſt that the duke might receive no puniſhment, becauſe he had committed no fault, for that it was very evident that he never intended to fight; and had, when no other tergiverſation would ſerve his turn, prudently miſtaken the place that was appointed by himſelf; which was preſſed by two or three lords in ſuch a pleaſant manner, with reflection upon ſome expreſſions uſed by himſelf, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the cenſure of the houſe, than the penalty of ſuch a vindication, and ſo they were both ſent to the Tower. And during the time they remained there, the bill againſt Ireland remained in ſuſpenſe and uncall'd for by thoſe, who would not hazard their cauſe in the abſence of their ſtrongeſt champion. But the ſame ſpirit was kept up in all other arguments, the diſpleaſure that had ariſen againſt each other in that, venting itſelf in contradictions and ſharp replies in all other occaſions, a miſchief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different intereſts are purſued, from whence perſonal animoſities ariſe, which are not quickly laid aſide after the affair itſelf, that produced thoſe paſſions, is compoſed and ended. And this kind of diſtemper never

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more appeared, nor ever laſted longer, than from the debate and conteſtation upon this bill.

Theſe two lords were no ſooner at liberty, and their diſpleaſure towards each other ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the king's command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the ſame diſturbance. It happened that upon debate of the ſame affair, the Iriſh bill, there was a conference appointed with the houſe of commons, in which the duke of Buckingham was a manager; and as they were ſitting in the painted chamber, which is ſeldom done in good order, it chanced that the marquis of Dorcheſter ſate next the duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correſpondence; the one changing his poſture for his own eaſe, which made the ſtation of the other the more uneaſy; they firſt endeavoured by juſtling to recover what they had diſpoſſeſs'd each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in ſtature, and was leſs active in his limbs, loſt his perriwig, and received ſome rudeneſs, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever leſs queſtioned than that of the other. The miſdemeanour greater than had ever happened in that place, when the leaſt reverence to government was preſerved, could not be concealed; but as ſoon as the conference was ended, was reported to the houſe, and both parties heard; who both confeſſed enough to make them undergo the cenſure of the houſe. The duke's friends would fain have juſtified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other, always diſpoſed them to effect any opportunity to manifeſt it; but the houſe ſent them both to the Tower; from whence after a few days, they were both releaſed together; and ſuch a reconci-

conciliation made, as after ſuch encounters is uſual, where either party thinks himſelf before-hand with the other; as the marquis had much of the duke's hair in his hands, to recompence for the pulling off his perriwig; which he could not reach high enough to do to the other. When all things were thus far quieted, the bill was again entered upon, with no leſs paſſion, for the ſtock that had been waſted. The arguments that were urged againſt the bill from the injuſtice of it were; that they ſhould, without any cauſe or demerit on their part, or any viſible evidence of a benefit that would accrue from it to this kingdom, deprive his majeſty's two other kingdoms of a privilege they had ever been poſſeſſed of. That they might as reaſonably take away the trade from any one county in England, becauſe it produced ſome inconvenience to another more in their favour: that the large counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and other provinces, would loſe as much by the paſſing this act, as the northern, and any other counties would gain by it. That thoſe two kingdoms might, with the ſame juſtice, preſs his majeſty's concurrence, that they might have no trade with England; which would bring more damage to England, by much, than it would gain by this act of reſtraint. And that it was againſt the maxims of prudence, to run the danger of a preſent miſchief and damage, as this would produce in Ireland, by the teſtimony of the lord lieutenant and council of that kingdom, only upon the ſpeculation of a future benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only in ſpeculation. Theſe, and many other arguments of this kind, which, for the moſt part, were offered by men who had not the leaſt relation to Ireland made no other impreſſion, than that they were content to leave Scotland

out of the bill; which increaſed their party againſt Ireland; and gave little ſatisfaction to the other, who did not ſo much value the commerce with the other kingdom. And this alteration the houſe of commons likewiſe conſented to but with great oppoſition, ſince in truth that conceſſion deſtroyed the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the bill was ſupported; when the debate fell upon ſome derogatory clauſes and proviſions, very contrary to his majeſty's juſt prerogative and power: for they made his majeſty's own licenſe and warrant of no effect and authority, but liable to be controuled by a conſtable: nor would permit the importation of three thouſand beeves, which by act of parliament in England were every year to be delivered at Cheſter and another port for the proviſion of the king's houſe; which in many reſpects the houſe generally diſliked and deſired that it might have no other ſtile than had been accuſtomed in all the penalties of parliament, which were in force; it being to be preſumed that the king would never diſpenſe with any violator of it except in ſuch caſes, as the benefit and good of the kingdom required it: which might naturally fall out, if there ſhould happen ſuch a murrain amongſt the beaſts of that ſpecies, as had been theſe late years amongſt horſes, which had deſtroyed ſo many thouſand, that good horſes were now hard to be procured; and if the ſame or the like deſtruction ſhould fall upon the other cattle, we ſhould have then more cauſe to complain of the ſcarcity and the dearneſs of meat, than we have now of the plenty and cheapneſs, which was the only grievance now left, and which kingdoms ſeldom complained of: and in ſuch a caſe it would be very great pity that the king ſhould not have power enough to provide for the ſupply of his ſubjects, and to prevent a common dearth: but this was a-

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gain oppoſed with as much paſſion and violence as had fallen out in any part of the debate, and ſuch rude arguments uſed againſt ſuch a power in the king, as if the queſtion were upon repoſing ſome new truſt in him; whereas it was upon diveſting him of a truſt that was inherent in him from all antiquity, and that it was the ſame thing to be without the bill, and not to provide againſt the king's diſpenſing with the not obeying it, whoſe inclinations were well known in this particular; and therefore the effect of them and of the importunity of the courtiers, muſt be provided againſt; and throughout this diſcourſe there was ſuch a liberty of language made uſe of, as reflected more upon the king's honour, and indeed upon his whole council and court, as had not been heard in that houſe; but in a time of rebellion, without any ſevere reprehenſion; and it ſo much offended the houſe now, that notwithſtanding all the ſturdy oppoſition, it was reſolved, that thoſe clauſes and proviſoes ſhould be amended in ſome places, and totally left out in others; and with alterations and amendments it was ſent down to the houſe of commons.

All this time the public affairs and neceſſities were little looked after or conſidered; and the fleet was come into the ports, but no money to pay off the men; and what was equally miſchievous, there was no way to make the proviſions for the next ſpring, that the fleet might be ready for the ſea, by the time the enemy would ſurely be out, if the victuallers were not ſupplied, who had much money due to them; the ſeaſon would be paſt, in which they were to buy the cattle they muſt kill; and they complained how much they ſhould ſuffer by this bill of Ireland, which already raiſed the price of all meats: and the yards wanted all thoſe tacklings, and rigging, and maſts, without

which another fleet could not be ſent out; and which could no otherwiſe be provided than by ready money. The king had anticipated all his own revenue, and was ready to expoſe that for further ſecurity; but no body would truſt. The new proviſo's in the bill of ſupply at Oxford gave no new credit; but were found as miſchievous as any body had apprehended they would be; and the bankers, who in all ſuch occaſions were a ſure refuge, wanted now credit themſelves; which that they might not recover, the parliament had uſed them as ill ſince they came together; that is, with reproaches and threats, as they had done at Oxford; in which kind of perſecution Sir William Coventry, and ſome who followed him led the van, very much to the king's prejudice, and againſt his command; but they excuſed themſelves upon the credit it gave them in the houſe to do him ſervice. All this was well enough underſtood, and it was as viſible that they intended to make it a forcible argument, for the paſſing the Iriſh bill; which tho' from different motives was now become the ſacrifice, without which they would not be appeaſed; and therefore when the bill was ſent to them with thoſe alterations and amendments; they rejected them all, and voted that they would adhere to their own bill, without departing from a word of it, except with reference to Scotland, from which they had receded; and if upon this very unuſual return, the houſe of peers had likewiſe voted, that they too would adhere, which they might regularly have done; and would have been conſented to by the major part of the houſe, if the queſtion had been then put, there had been an end of that bill; but that muſt not be ſuffered: the party that cheriſhed it, was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep ſilence; and were numerous enough to obſtruct and defer

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what they liked not; tho' not to eſtabliſh what they deſired. Some of them, that is ſome who were deſirous that the bill ſhould paſs, tho' uncorrupted by their paſſions, did not like the obſtinacy of the houſe of commons, in not departing from ſuch unuſual clauſes and pretences; yet were not willing to have the like vote paſs for adhering in that houſe, which it might do when all other remedies ſhould fail; and therefore moved that a conference might be required, in which ſuch reaſons might be given as might ſatisfy them. Many conferences and free conſequences were held, in which the commons ſtill maintained their adherence with a wonderful petulance; and thoſe members who were appointed to manage the conferences took the liberty to uſe all thoſe arguments and the very expreſſions which had been uſed in the houſe of peers againſt leaving any power in the king to diſpenſe; and added ſuch other of their own as more reflected upon his majeſty's honour; and yet concluded as if they could ſay more, if they were provoked; upon which every man might make what gloſſes he pleaſed; and the king himſelf was left to his own imaginations. There need be no other inſtance given of the unheard of, and incredible paſſion, that was ſhewed in the tranſaction of that bill; than a particular that related to the city of London. Upon news of the great fire in London, and the devaſtation it made there, there was ſo general a lamentation in Ireland, as might be expected from a neighbour province, that had ſo great a commerce with and dependance upon it; and the conſent in this lamentation was ſo digeſted, that the ſeveral provinces had made a computation and diviſion between themſelves; and preſented a declaration to the lord lieutenant and council, that they had ſo tender a ſenſe of that calamity that if they were able to raiſe money, to adminiſter ſome

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance to the city towards the reparation of their great loſs, they would willingly offer and preſent it; but that not being in their power or poſſeſſion, the great ſcarcity and want of money throughout that kingdom, being notoriouſly known: But there being ſomewhat in their power to offer, which might at leaſt teſtify their good will, and not be wholy uſeleſs towards the end they deſigned it; they had agreed between themſelves, to ſend to the lord mayor and city of London, to be diſpoſed of by them, to ſuch particular uſes as they ſhould judge moſt convenient, the number of thirty thouſand Iriſh beaſts, which ſhould be delivered within ſuch a time, and at ſuch ports as were named, to any ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive them: and of this they deſired the lord lieutenant and council to advertize the king; and likewiſe give notice to the city of London. Both which were done accordingly and the advertiſement arrived in the city, in the time when this bill was depending in the lords houſe; whereupon the lord-mayor and aldermen preſented a petition to the lords with a proviſo, that they deſired might be inſerted in the bill that was before them, by which it was provided that nothing contained in that bill, ſhould hinder the city of London from enjoying the charitable, donative of thirty thouſand cattle; but that they might have liberty to import the ſame. It can hardly be believed with what paſſion and indignation this petition was received by the houſe; what invictives were made againſt the city for their preſumption, in interpoſing their own particular intereſt, to obſtruct the public affairs of the kingdom; and the reflections which were made upon the council of Ireland, for giving countenance to ſuch an addreſs, and becoming inſtruments themſelves to promote and advance which they would not allow to be an offering of charity;

rity; but a cheat and a cozenage by complication, to elude an act of parliament which they could not chuſe but hear of; and could not but believe that it was paſſed by this time; which if it had been; and that power left in the king, as had been propoſed; they might now ſee how it would have been applied, for they could not doubt but there would enough have adviſed the king, that he ſhould gratify the city of London with a licenſe for this importation; which could not or would not have been ſo warmly drawn, but that under the licenſe of thirty thouſand, there would be three hundred thouſand imported into England; and this was the great charity aimed at, and was aſſured of; and ſo after much bitterneſs, they deſired that the petition and the proviſo might be both rejected. But this paſſion did not cover the whole houſe; which neither commended nor approved it, and were much leſs tranſported with it: they believed it was a very ſeaſonable intention of charity, and would not take upon them to fruſtrate it; and ſo prevailed that it was paſſed in that houſe, and tranſmitted with approbation to the other. But it had the ſame fate there with the other proviſoes, and was thrown out with that bitterneſs and obſervation, which had been offered againſt it by ſome lords; nor could any expedients alter or remove their obſtinacy, tho' many were offered upon conferences, and particularly that all the beeves ſhould be killed in Ireland; and powdered there, and then ſent over in barrels or other casks. But they found cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, and would for a time keep down the price of meat in England; which they deſired to advance; ſo that there was nothing gotten in all theſe conferences, but the diſcovery of new jealouſies of the king and the court, and new inſinuations

ſinuations of the diſcontents and murmurs in the country, that this bill was ſo long obſtructed; which being ſtill repreſented to the king with the moſt ghaſtly aſpects towards what effects it might produce, his majeſty in the end was prevailed upon, notwithſtanding very earneſt advice to the contrary, not only to be willing to give his royal aſſent, when it ſhould be offered to him, but to take very great pains to remove thoſe obſtructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to ſolicit particularly very many lords to depart from their own ſenſe, and conform to what he thought convenient to his ſervice; which gave thoſe who loved him not, great argument of triumph; and to thoſe, who loved him very paſſionately, much matter of mortification. Yet after all this, and when his majeſty had changed ſome mens reſolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be abſent, when the bill ſhould come again to be diſcuſſed; it was carried with great difficulty, and with great oppoſition, and againſt the reſolution of many of the lords.

In all the debate upon this bill, and upon the other of accounts, the chancellor had the misfortune to loſe much credit in the houſe of commons; not only by a very ſtrong and cordial oppoſition of what they deſired, but by taking all occaſions which were offered by the frequent arguments which were urged of the opinion and the authority of the houſe of commons, and that it was fit and neceſſary to concur with them, to mention them with leſs reverence than they expected; it is very true, he had always uſed in ſuch provocations, to deſire the lords to be more ſolicitous in preſerving their own unqueſtionable rights and moſt important priviledges, and leſs tender in reſtraining the exceſs and new incroachments of the houſe of commons,

mons, and which extend their juriſdiction beyond their limits; he put them often in mind of the miſchiefs which had their original from the liberties the houſe of commons aſſumed, and the compliance the houſe of peers had deſcended to in the late ill times; and which produced the rebellion, and carried ſo far, till after all the multiplied affronts they had wreſted the whole authority out of the hands of the houſe of peers, and at laſt declared them uſeleſs members of the common wealth; and ſhut up the door of their houſe with a padlock; which they had never power to unfaſten till the king's return: and in theſe occaſions his expreſſions were many times ſo lively, that they offended many of the lords who were preſent, and had too much contributed to thoſe extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the commons. The truth is, he did never diſſemble from the time of his return with the king, whom he had likewiſe prepared and diſpoſed to the ſame ſentiments, whilſt his majeſty was abroad; that his opinion was, that the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till the king's royal and inherent power and prerogative ſhould be fully avowed and vindicated; and till the uſurpations in both houſes of parliament, ſince the year 1640 were diſclaimed and made odious; and many other exceſſes, which had been affected by both before that time, under the name of privileges, ſhould be reſtrained or explained. For all which reformation the kingdom in general was very much diſpoſed, when it pleaſed God to reſtore the king to it. Nor did the convention which proclaimed the king, and invited him to return exerciſe after his return any exorbitant power; but what was of neceſſity upon former irregularities; and contributed to the preſent ends and deſires of the king and this parliament, that was upon diſſolution of the former

quickly ſummoned by the king's writ; willingly inclined to that method, as appears by thoſe many excellent acts, which vindicated the king's ſovereign power over parliaments, and declared the nullity of all acts done by one or both houſes without the king's conſent; declared and ſettled the abſolute power of the crown over the militia; repealed that act of parliament, that had excluded the biſhops from being members in the houſe of peers; and reſtored them to their ſeſſion there, and repealed that other infamous act for triennial parliaments, which had clauſes in it to have led the people into rebellion; and would willingly have proſecuted the ſame method, if they had had the ſame advice and encouragement. But when they had continued to ſit too long together; and were invited to meddle and interpoſe in matters out of their own ſphere to give their advice with reference to peace and war; to hold conferences with the king; and to offer their advices to him, and to receive orders from himſelf; when his majeſty was perſuaded by very unskilful men, that they were ſo abſolutely at his diſpoſal, that he never need doubt their undertaking any thing that would be ungrateful to him; and that whilſt he preſerved that intire intereſt which he had in the lower houſe, which he might eaſily do; he need not care what the other houſe did or had a mind to do, and ſo they induced his majeſty to undervalue his houſe of peers, as of little power to do him good or harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that falſe doctrine towards which the houſe of peers contributed too much, by not enquiring into or conſidering the public ſtate of the kingdom, or providing remedies for growing evils; or indeed meddling with any thing in the government, till they were invited to it by ſome meſſage or overture from the houſe of commons; inſomuch as they

ſate not early in the morning; according to the former cuſtom of parliaments; but came not together till ten o'clock, and very often adjourned as ſoon as they met; becauſe that nothing was brought from the houſe of commons, that adminiſtred cauſe of conſultation; and upon that ground often adjourned for one or two days together; whilſt the other houſe ſate, and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good. Then when any thing fell in their way, that they could draw a conſequence from, that might relate to their privileges, they were ſo jealous of an invaſion, that they neither conſidered forms of precedents nor rules of honour and juſtice; and were not only ſolicitous for that freedom, which belonged to themſelves, and their menial ſervants, who ought not to be diſquieted by private ſuits and proſecutions in law whilſt they are obliged to attend upon the ſervice of their country in parliament, but gave their protections ad libitum; and which were commonly ſold by their ſervants to bankrupt citizens; and to ſuch who were able, but refuſed to pay their juſt debts: and when their creditors knew that they could have no relation of attendance to any man, and thereupon cauſed them to be arreſted, they produced ſome protection granted to them by ſome lord, whereupon they were not only diſcharged, but their creditors and all who bore any part in the proſecution, were puniſhed with great rigour, and to their great loſs and damage, and to the great prejudice of the city, and interruption of the whole courſe of the juſtice of the kingdom. When the houſe of commons ſent up a bill for the ſuppreſſion or reformation of many irregularities and miſdemeanours, which had grown up in the late times of diſorder and confuſion, as conventicles

and other riotous aſſemblies, wherein there was a neceſſity of ſome clauſes of power to inferior officers; whereby they were qualified to diſcover thoſe tranſgreſſions which would otherwiſe be concealed. The lords would be ſure always to inſert ſome proviſo to ſave their privileges even in acts which provided for the puniſhment of ſuch crimes, as no perſon of quality could be ſuppoſed to be guilty of, as ſtealing of wood, and ſuch vile treſpaſſes, which took up much time in debate; and incenſed the houſe of commons; and produced many froward debates, in which the king thought the peers in the wrong.

This kind of temper or diſtemper upon very trivial and light occaſions in ſeaſons, which required gravity and diſpatch, provoked the houſe of commons to take more upon them; to enter upon conteſts ſometimes unreaſonably with the lords; and to aſſume to themſelves an authority in matters, in which they ought not to interpoſe; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by thoſe, who had near relation to the king, and were truſted in his ſervice, to affect novelties both in the form and ſubſtance of their proceedings, which thoſe perſons concurred in much out of ignorance of what was to be done; and more out of affection, to compaſs ſome crooked end of their own, to the prejudice of another perſon, who was in their diſfavour. And when theſe ſallies out of the old trodden path were taken notice of, and his majeſty had adviſed to prevent them in time; he was perſuaded either that the exceptions were in matters of little moment, and made only by formal men, who liked nothing that was out of the old common road; or that the liberty would be applied to his ſervice; and in many uſeful occaſions would mollify or ſubdue the inconvenient moroſity of the lords, or when it ſhould exceed, it

would be ſtill in his majeſty's power to reſtrain it when he found it neceſſary. And theſe diſcourſes prevailed too much with his majeſty, till he now found the humour was grown too ſturdy for him to contend with and the ſame men, who had perſuaded him to contemn it, were now more importunate with him, that he would comply with it. The chancellor had always oppoſed the over captious, inſiſting upon privileges in the lords houſe, either when in truth there was not a juſt ground for it; or when they would extend it further than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in mind of many exorbitant acts, which ſtood ſtill mentioned in their journal books, of their proceedings in the late rebellious times, which might be looked upon as precedents by poſterity, and in which the houſe of commons had really invaded their greateſt privileges, and trampled upon their higheſt juriſdiction, which was worthy of their moſt ſtrict concern to vindicate by proteſtation, and by expunging the memorial thereof, out of all their books and records, that there might be no footſteps left to miſlead the ſucceeding ages; and often deſired them to preſerve a power in themſelves to put the houſe of commons in mind of their exceeding their limits, for which they often gave them occaſion, and particularly as often as they ſent to quicken them in any debate, which was a very modern preſumption, and derogatory from that reſpect which a houſe of commons had always paid to the houſe of lords; and this they could not reaſonably or effectually do, till they declined all unjuſt caſes or unneceſſary pretences to privileges which were not their due; and eſpecially to a power of calling private caſes of right and juſtice, which ought to be determined

termined by the law, and in courts of juſtice to be heard and adjudged before themſelves in parliament: of which there were too frequent occaſions to oppoſe and contradict their juriſdiction. This free way of diſcourſe offended many of the lords who thought him not jealous enough, nor zealous for the privilege of the peerage, and they were now very glad that they uſed ſo much more freedom againſt the proceedings of the houſe of commons, which they were ſure would be reſented below, more than it had been above; and many of his friends informed him how ill it was taken, and how carefully all that he ſaid, and much that he did not ſay, was tranſmitted by ſome of the lords, to them who would not fail in ſome ſeaſon, to remember and apply it to his higheſt diſadvantage; and therefore deſired him to uſe leſs fervour in thoſe argumentations. But he was in that, as in many things of that kind, that related to the offending other men, for his own ſake uncounſelable; not that he did not know that it expoſed him to the cenſure of ſome men, who lay in wait to do him hurt; but becauſe he neglected thoſe cenſures, nor valued the perſons who promoted them, being confident that he would be liable to no charge that he ſhould be aſhamed of, and well knowing that he had, and being well known to have a higher eſteem of parliament, and a greater deſire to preſerve the juſt privileges of both houſes than they had, who ſeemed to be angry with him on that behalf, and that the extending beyond their due length would in the end endanger the deſtruction of parliament. But he ſhortly after found that this guard was not ſecure enough to defend him. What he ſaid in parliament was the ſenſe of more, who would not ſpeak it, than

there

there were of thoſe who diſliked it; and how much ſoever it offended them, they could not out of it find a crime to accuſe him of. But they who were more concerned to remove him from a poſt, where he too narrowly watched, and often obſtructed the liberties they took, reſolved to ſacrifice all their oaths and obligations, which obliged them to the contrary, to the ſatisfaction of their envy and their malice; and ſo whatſoever he ſaid or adviſed in the moſt ſecret council to the king himſelf, with reference to things or perſons, they communicated to all thoſe, who had moſt reaſon to be angry. Yet could not own the information, of all which he had advertiſement; and that a ſtorm would be ſhortly raiſed to ſhake him; of which he had little apprehenſion, never ſuſpecting that it would ariſe out of that quarter, from whence he ſoon after diſcerned it to proceed.

There was another particular and private accident, that fell out at this time, that adminiſtered more occaſion of faction and diſſention in the two houſes, which always obſtructed and perplexed all public buſineſs. The marquis of Dorcheſter had ſome years before married one of his daughters to the lord Roſs, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Rutland, both families very noble in themſelves, and of great fortunes, and allied to all the great families of the kingdom. The lady not being of a temper very agreeable, nor finding the ſatisfaction ſhe expected, where ſhe ought to have received it, looked for it abroad, where ſhe ought not to find it. Her husband, as men conſcious to themſelves of any notable defect uſe to be, was indulgent enough, not ſtrictly enquiring how ſhe behaved herſelf; and ſhe as little diſſembling or concealing the contempt ſhe had of her huſband;

band; until his friends, eſpecially the mother (who was a lady of a very great ſpirit, and moſt exalted paſſion) took notice of her frequent abſence from her husband, and of her little kindneſs towards him, when ſhe was preſent with him. And the young lady, who with her other defaults had want of wit, to bear a reprehenſion ſhe deſerved, inſtead of excuſing, avowed her no eſteem of her husband, charged him with debauchery, and being always in drink, which was too true; and reproached him with folly, as a man not worthy to be beloved: and the paſſion ſwelling to a great height on both ſides, the marquis came to be engaged on the behalf of his daughter, and challenged her husband to fight with him, who in many reſpects was not capable, nor did underſtand thoſe encounters. In the end, after many acts of paſſion, which adminiſtred too much cauſe of mirth and ſcandal to the world, by the advice and mediation of friends, as good a reconciliation, as in ſuch caſes is uſual, was made, and the young couple brought to live again together; and the lady having the aſcendant over the lord, who was very deſirous to live quietly upon any conditions, that he might enjoy himſelf, tho', he could not enjoy her; he was contented that ſhe made a journey to London, upon pretences to ſee ſome friends; and the time being expired, which ſhe had preſcribed for her abſence, he ſent to her to return, which ſhe deferred from time to time; but at laſt after many months, ſhe returned to him, in ſo groſs a manner, that it appeared ſhe had kept company too much, which ſhe never endeavoured to conceal; and when her husband told her that ſhe was with child, and asked who got it; ſhe anſwered him confidently, that whoever got it, if it proved

a boy,

a boy, as ſhe believed it would, he ſhould be earl of Rutland. This was more than the young man could bear, without informing his mother, the good earl not loving to engage himſelf in ſo much noiſe, who preſently took care that the great-bellied lady was made a priſoner in her chamber, ſtrictly guarded that ſhe could not go out of thoſe lodgings which were aſſigned her, all her own ſervants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other things ſupplied, that ſhe could ſtand in need of, or require, liberty only excepted. Yet in this cloſe retirement ſhe found means to advertiſe her father of the condition ſhe was in, and made it much worſe than it was; ſeeming to apprehend the ſafety of her life threatened by the malice of the counteſs, mother to her huſband; who ſhe ſaid did all ſhe could to alienate his affection from her, and now that ſhe found ſhe was with child would perſuade him that it was not his, and took all this extreme courſe, either to make her miſcarry, and ſo endanger her life, or to put an end to mother and child, when ſhe ſhould miſcarry; and therefore beſought her father that he would find ſome way to procure her liberty, and to remove her from that place, as the only means to ſave her life. The marquis, with the paſſion of a father, and confidence of his daughters virtue, and having no reverence for the counteſs, thought it an act of great barbarity; and conſulted whether he could have any remedy at law to recover his daughter's liberty; and finding little hope from thence, the reſtraint of a wife, by the jealouſy of her husband in his own houſe being not a crime the law had provided a remedy againſt; he reſorted then to the king; who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean time he ſent women to ſee and

attend his daughter; who were admitted to ſee and confer with her; but not to ſtay with her. The counteſs declareing that ſhe ſhould want nothing, but that ſince it was impoſſible that the child could be of kin to her ſon, who had not ſeen her in ſo many months before the child muſt have been got; ſhe would provide that there ſhould be no more foul play, when ſhe ſhould be delivered; and after that time ſhe ſhould have no more reſtraint or reſidence in that houſe, but be at liberty to go whether ſhe would. The concluſion was, the lady was delivered, and a ſon born, who was quickly chriſtened by the name of Ignoto, and committed to a poor woman, who lived near, to be nurſed; and as ſoon as the lady recovered ſtrength enough, ſhe was diſmiſſed and ſent to the houſe of her father; who received her with the affection he thought was due to her, and having conferred and examined her with all the ſtrictneſs he could, he remained ſatisfied in her innocence, and conſequently of the barbarous treatment ſhe had received, and the injury and indignity both to him and her, that was done to the ſon; for which he was reſolved to leave no way untried in which he might receive a vindication. In order to which he firſt deſired the king to hear all parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a day for the doing it, being attended by ſome biſhops and other lords of his council. When the marquis and his daughter, and the lord Roſſe, and his mother were preſent, with more ladies than could have the patience to ſtay till the end of the examination; where there were ſo many indecent and uncleanly particulars mentioned, that made all the auditors very weary, nor was there any room for his majeſty to interpoſe towards a reconciliation, which was in view impoſſible.

poſſible. Nor could the lady be excuſed for a great delight ſhe took in making her husband jealous of her; and in expreſſing a contempt of him, whatever elſe ſhe was guilty of; and ſo the king left it, as he found it. And the marquis who had heard many things he did not expect to have heard, took his daughter to his own houſe, that by her own ſtrict behaviour ſhe might beſt vindicate herſelf from the ſcandal ſhe lay under. But ſhe quickly freed him from that hope and expectation; for within a ſhort time after, ſhe not being able to ſubmit to the ſtrict order and diſcipline of her fathers houſe; which would not permit thoſe wanderings ſhe deſired to make, nor the viſits ſhe deſired to receive, made an eſcape from thence, and lodged herſelf at more liberty, and lived in that manner as gave too much evidence againſt her with reference to the time that was paſt.

The marquis, who was a man of great honour, and moſt punctual in all things relating to juſtice, gave a noble inſtance of both; and how much he deteſted the baſe and unworthy behaviour of his own child, when it was manifeſt to him. He went to the other noble family, aſked their pardon for his incredulity, and for any offence he had committed againſt them, or reproach he had laid upon them for the vindication of an unworthy woman, who he believed now had deſerved all and more aſperſions than had been laid on her; and therefore he was ready to join with them to free the family as much as was poſſible from the infamy ſhe had brought to them and him; and that her baſe iſſue might not be an eternal reproach in their family. Upon this ſhe was firſt upon the complaint of her husband cited into the court of the arches before the eccleſiaſtical judges; where after a full examination

of witneſſes on both ſides, and hearing what ſhe could alledge in her own defence, her crime was declared to be proved ſufficiently, and thereupon a judgment was pronounced, of a full and entire ſeparation, à toro & à menſâ pro cauſâ adulterii, in ſuch a form, and with ſuch circumſtances as are of courſe in thoſe caſes. But all this was not remedy enough againſt the baſtard's title to the honour of that illuſtrious family; and therefore there was a bill prepared, wherein all the foul carriage of the lady was ſet out, the birth and chriſtening of Ignoto, the declaration and judgment of the court of arches, and ſeparation of the parties for adultery proved; and thereupon a deſire that it might be declared by act of parliament, that the ſon, Ignoto by name, is a baſtard, and incapable to inherit any part of the title, honour, or eſtate of or belonging to the houſe of Rutland; and the ſame incapacity to attend all other children, which from that time of the birth of Ignoto, had or might be born from the body of that lady. And this bill being preſented to the houſe of peers by a lord nearly allied to that family; the earl of Rutland being preſent with the marquis; as ſoon as it was read, the marquis ſtood up, and with expreſſions of trouble and of the juſtice that was due to the greatneſs of a noble houſe, that had received a foul blemiſh by a woman of too near a relation to him, of whom he was aſhamed, and therefore gave his free conſent to the bill, and deſired that it might paſs. And the earl likewiſe beſought the houſe, that ſo infamous a branch might not be engrafted into his family; of which his ſon the lord Roſs was the ſole heir male, with whom the honour muſt expire. It was a caſe of general concernment, as well as compaſſion, that an impudent

impudent woman ſhould have the power to give an heir to inherit a noble title and fortune by deſcent, when it was ſo notoriouſly known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a meer ſtranger to the blood of the houſe. Yet there were ſome very good lords, and who deteſted the woman and the wickedneſs, made much ſcruple in making a new precedent in a particular caſe, that undermined a foundation of law; and opened a door to let in an unjuſt declaration upon pretences not ſo well proved, to the diſinheriſon of one that ſhould not be illegitimate. But tho' it was a rare caſe, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two declarations of baſtardy in parliament, in the reign of king Henry the ſeventh and Henry the eighth; however it was as juſt that ſhe ſhould be heard to defend both her ſelf and her ſon; and therefore the bill being read the ſecond time it was committed, with direction that the lady ſhould have perſonal notice to attend, before the committee entered upon it. And after long enquiry at the places where ſhe uſed to be, it was found that ſhe had tranſported herſelf into Ireland, in the company of the perſon, whom ſhe had preferred before her husband, and there was reaſon to believe that it was after ſhe had notice of the bill. However all proceedings were reſpited, till there was full proof given to the houſe, by the perſon himſelf who had ſpoken with her in Ireland, and given her the warrant that required her attendance upon the committees, and then after many days longer delay it was read and debated, and by the committee reported to the houſe to be engroſſed. And then, and not till then the duke of Buckingham oppoſed the paſſing it, upon pretence that in the bill lord Roſſe had aſſumed a title that belonged to him by his mother, who had been heir female to Francis earl of Rutland; when

that

that title now challenged, had deſcended to George the brother of Francis, and had been enjoyed by two earls of Rutland ſince. It was generally thought a ſtrange exception, nor was it known whether the duke was diſpoſed to it, as a revenge upon the marquis, or to ſhew his own power; for he had many who concurred with him in both houſes upon many occaſions, or whether he did in truth deſire to ſupport the lady in her infamy; he not being over tender in caſes of that nature However it was neceſſary to recommit the bill, that ſome expedient might be there found to remove the obſtruction, which tho' he was obſtinate in till the houſe was tired with many days debate upon it; in which moſt of his adherents upon the unreaſonableneſs left him, he perſiſted ſtill, and maintained the debate almoſt alone, till the time of the ſeſſion approached, when the lord Roſſe was compelled to humour him in leaving out a title, that all the world gave him. And then after intolerable vexation to the houſe, and loſs of time, he deſired not to appear againſt it, and the act paſſed the royal aſſent.

The ill humour of the houſe of commons was not abated; and tho' they knew well that the Iriſh bill could never have paſſed the upper houſe but by the king's powerful interpoſition; they remained ſtill jealous, or pretended to be ſo, that he would not give his aſſent, which till he ſhould do, they would admit no debate of money: ſo that as ſoon as the bill was preſented to him, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and ſent for the commons to attend him upon the eighteenth of January, when after he had given his conſent to that and another private bill, which they had preſented, he told them that he had now paſſed their bills, and that he had been in hope to have had other bills ready to have paſſed too; he ſaid that he could

not

not forget that within few days after their coming together in September, both houſes had preſented to him their vote and declaration, that they would give him a ſupply proportionable to his occaſions, and the confidence of that had made him anticipate all the ſmall part of his revenue, which was unanticipated, for the payment of the ſeamen, and his credit had gone further than he had reaſon to think it would; but it was now at an end. This was the firſt day he ſaid he had heard of a ſupply, being the eighteenth of January, and what it would amount to, God only knew; and what time he had to make ſuch preparations as were neceſſary, they could well enough judge; and he muſt tell them, what diſcourſes ſoever were abroad; he was not in any treaty, but by the grace of God, he would not give over himſelf and them, but would do what was in his power for defence of both; it was high time for them to make good their promiſe, and it was high time for them to be in the country; as well for the raiſing of money, as that the lord lieutenant, and deputy lieutenants, might watch thoſe ſeditious ſpirits, which were at work to diſturb the public peace; and therefore he was reſolved to put an end to that ſeſſion on Monday next come ſeven-night; before which time he deſired that all things might be made ready, that he was to diſpatch. His majeſty ſaid he was not willing to complain that they had dealt unkindly with him in a bill he had then paſſed; in which they had manifeſted a greater diſtruſt of him than he had deſerved: he did not pretend to be without infirmities, but he had never broken his word to them; and if he did not flatter himſelf, the nation had never leſs cauſe to complain of grievances, or the leaſt injuſtice or oppreſſion, than it had had in theſe ſeven years, ſince it had

pleaſed

pleaſed God to reſtore him to them; he would he ſaid be glad to be uſed accordingly. This little quickneſs in his majeſty prevailed more upon them, than all the former application had done; and now they ſaw, that they ſhould not be ſuffered to continue longer together, they reſolved to leave ſome reliſh of their former duty and compliance; not that the humour was at all reformed or abated in thoſe who had ſhewed ſo much forwardneſs, who ſtill continued as perverſe as ever; but they were over-ruled by the major part of the houſe, as they would have been ſooner, if it had not been that a contrary courſe had been purſued, to what had been fromerly. Nor were they, who had adviſed that change, willing that his majeſty ſhould decline the ſame method; and were much troubled that he had not careſſed the houſe more in his late diſcourſe; and as they had before adviſed his majeſty freely and without any condition, to offer to repeal and releaſe the act that had granted the chimney-money to him, which was a very good and growing revenue, but they obſerved to be unpopular, upon a preſumption, which they aſſured him could not fail, that ſo generous an action in his majeſty towards his people, would be immediately requited by a grant of much greater value; and they had prevailed in this council, if the chancellor and the treaſurer had not with great reſolution oppoſed it, and made evident to his majeſty that he ought never to propoſe himſelf, tho' with conditions, becauſe it would make the grace undervalued, and the conditions to be eſteemed unreaſonable: nor to harken to any general propoſition, or conſent to the repeal of that act, without having a full and equivalent recompenſe, which ought to be very well weighed, granted in the ſame act of parliament. For he had

now

now ſufficient evidence, that the conſtant good humour of the houſe was not to be depended upon; which confirmed his majeſty to reſolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and ſo that miſchief was prevented. Yet they were now as deſirous that the houſe of commons would ſtill preſs the diſpatch of the bill of acts, which reſted in the lords houſe; and aſſured them, that if they would embrace the ſame poſitiveneſs they had done, the chancellor would no more be able to hinder the paſſing of that act, than he had been to keep his majeſty from conſenting to the Iriſh bill, ſo much againſt his reſolution. But they and their friends could not keep up the ſame ſpirit of ſtubbornneſs in the houſe, nor prevail with the king to recede from his purpoſe: ſo that the bill for accounts remained ſtill in the houſe of lords, not fully diſcuſſed. And ſuch a progreſs was made in the houſe of commons, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, that a bill for ſupply was prepared within the time preſcribed, tho' in reſpect to the proportion not equal to the occaſions, and intangled ſtill with the ſame inconvenient clauſes and proviſoes, which had ſo unwarily been admitted at Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready money, of which his majeſty was now fully convinced. But the time was too ſhort to labour in the alteration, and ſo the bill as it was, was ſent up to the lords, who after the ſhort formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a paſſage through that houſe, ſo that it was now ready for the king.

The eighth of February the king came to the parliament; and the ſpeaker of the houſe preſented the bill to the king, who gave his royal aſſent to it, and thanked them for it, with his aſſurance, that the money ſhould be laid out for the end it was given. However, he ſaid he hoped he ſhould

live to have bills of this nature in the old ſtyle, with fewer proviſoes. He took notice that the bill of accounts for the money that had been already raiſed ſince the war, was not offered to him: but his majeſty ſaid that he would take care, after ſo much noiſe, that the ſame ſhould not be ſtifled, but that he would iſſue out his commiſſion in the manner he had formerly promiſed the houſe of peers, and the commiſſioners ſhould have very much to anſwer, if they ſhould not diſcover all matters of frauds and cozenage. He told them the ſeaſon of the year was very far ſpent, in which the enemy had got great advantage; but by the help of god he would make all the preparations he could, and as faſt as he could:: and yet he would tell them, that if any good overtures were made for an honourable peace, he would not reject them; and he believed all ſober men would be glad to ſee it brought to paſs. He would now prorogue them till towards winter, that they might in their ſeveral places intend the peace and ſecurity of their ſeveral countries, where there were unquiet ſpirits ſtill working. He did pray them, and ſaid he did expect it from them, that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to remove all thoſe falſe imaginations out of the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men had induſtriouſly infuſed into them, of he knew not what jealouſies and grievances; for he was ſure he was in the right, that the people had never ſo little cauſe to complain of oppreſſion and grievances, as they had ſince his return to them. If the taxes and impoſitions were grievous and heavy upon him, they would put them in mind that a war with ſuch powerful enemies could not be maintained without taxes: and he was ſure the money raiſed thereby came not into his purſe. He concluded with promiſing himſelf good effects from their affections and wiſdoms where-

ever

ever they were; and he did hope that they ſhould all meet again of one mind for his honour, and good of the kingdom; and ſo they were prorogued to the tenth day of October next. And now the king had very much to do, more than he had time or tools to diſpatch. Yet he begun firſt where the parliament left off, that when they came again together, they might have no cauſe to ſay, that he had not performed what he had promiſed. And ſo with the ſame paſſion renew their clamour upon the accounts, which was made now a very popular complaint: and whoever was accuſed of obſtructing that examination, was preſently concluded to have had a ſhare in the prey. Yet he was not willing that ſuch a ſtrict examination ſhould be made, eſpecially into the receipt of the lord Aſhley for the prizes, that all the world ſhould know what money had been iſſued out by his own immediate orders, and to whom. Hereupon he commanded his attorney and ſollicitor-general to prepare a commiſſion, with all neceſſary clauſes, to call all perſons to account who had received any ſuch monies: and to examine and take any exception to the ſame. And that there might be no juſt exception to the commiſſion, which he knew would be ſtrictly looked into; they were required to adviſe with all or any of the judges, that it might have their approbation, and that there ſhould be a clauſe in the commiſſion, whereby the commiſſioners ſhould be authorized to call any of the judges to their aſſiſtance, when upon any matter of difficulty, they ſhould think it neceſſary. And that there might be no exception to any of the commiſſioners as like to be partial in reſpect of friendſhip or alliance, to any of thoſe who were to be called before them, his majeſty appointed all thoſe perſons, who were nominated for commiſſioners in the bill ſent to the houſe of lords by the

commons, to be inſerted into this commiſſion: and likewiſe made choice of ſuch a number of the peers, as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named thoſe, who had upon all debates in the houſe appeared moſt ſolicitous that a very exact account ſhould be required, and of ſuch others who had no relation to the court, and were looked upon with moſt eſteem by the houſe of commons. All which were prepared with the expedition that was poſſible, and the commiſſion ſealed, and notice given to all the commiſſioners, that they ſhould meet at a place appointed, upon a day named preſently after Eaſter, by which time the judges would be returned off their circuits; and they were then at liberty to adjourn to what place they pleaſed.

We are now to enter upon the occurrences of the year 1667, a year little more proſperous to the publick than the year preceding, and fatal in reſpect of many calamitous accidents to the chancellor, and which put a period to his greatneſs. The circumſtances whereof being very notorious, were ſo interwoven with the public tranſactions of State, that it is not eaſy to make a diſtinct and clear narration of the one without the other. The temper the parliament had been in, and the delay they had uſed in giving the king any ſupply towards the carrying on the war, made the king diſcern that he had been too confident of their generoſity; and that they had already departed from that ſpirit, with which they firſt had perſuaded him to enter into that war. And then it was evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the Dutch could endure being beaten longer than he could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and ſupplied with the money of France, and the governing party had ſubdued all contradictions; and whatever their affections were, all compliance and ſubmiſſion ap-

appeared in the commands of the ſtate; and there wanted nothing but the ſeaſon of the year to carry their fleet again to ſea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All murmuring was tranſplanted from thence into England, where it grew up plentifully; and the king was, upon the credit of an act of parliament, that was paſſed on the eighth of February, to provide a fleet ready to encounter with the potent enemies in the ſpring. There was no trade by ſea, and therefore could not be much by land, that could bring any benefit to the king; and the ſeamen run all to the privateers, who adventured for booty; which they preferred before ſerving in the royal navy. The king, in theſe ſtreights called that council together, with whom he uſed to conſult his moſt ſecret affairs; and the chief officers at ſea, and the comiſſioners attended to give ſuch information as was neceſſary, before any reſolution could be taken there; the whole ſtate of the navy, what was in the ſtores, and what the defects or deficiencies were, and what hopes there were of ſupplying them; what ſhips were ready, and what could be provided and put on board in the ſame time, which was the moſt that could be limited. Every officer proteſted that there could not be the leaſt done towards any preparation, without a good ſum of ready money; and the yards were in that neceſſity by reaſon of the great arrear of wages that was due to them, that they were near a mutiny, and could not be kept to their work, being neceſſitated to do any work abroad, to get victuals for their families. The inferior officers, who belonged to the ſtores, lived by ſtealing and ſelling what they were inſtructed to keep. In ſhort, all things were preſented to be in that confuſion, that there appeared no probability of being able to ſet out any fleet, before the enemy would be ſtrong upon the coaſt;

that

that it would be very difficult to make a junction between thoſe ſhips which were in the river, and the others which were in Portſmouth and in other parts. This deſperate repreſentation did not make the king take a ſudden reſolution; but the ſame council met many days, morning and evening; all ways were thought upon which might adminiſter hope to get any money, and conſiderations were entered upon what was to be done, in caſe a fleet could not be provided fit to engage the enemy, and which way a defenſive war was to be made at ſea; and how the trade ſhould be ſecured, and the coaſts and harbours ſo preſerved, that the enemy might do no affront at land; for every day brought looſe and unguarded intelligence of bodies of horſe and foot, drawn in France, to the ſea ſide, in many places, upon that large coaſt, and likewiſe in Holland; and great proviſion of flat bottoms, as if they intended to make ſome deſcent. Which kind of rumours exceedingly diſcompoſed the common people, tho' they, who underſtood the expeditions of that nature; and with what difficulties land armies were tranſported, were not moved by thoſe reports. After all expedients were conſidered and well weighed, his majeſty found cauſe to deſpair of being able to ſet out in any time, a fleet equal to the occaſion; and ſo contracted his thoughts to the other part for the defenſive. There is a point of land on the Kentiſh coaſt, that extends itſelf into the ſea, and at the very entrance of the river where the king had often thought of erecting a royal fort, that would both preſerve, and likewiſe be a great ſecurity to the river; and the proſecuting this deſign was in this conſultation thought of great importance, and the erecting another fort in another place, and repairing and

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ſtrengthening Langhorn point upon the coaſt of Eſſex, and Suffolk. For preparations for the ſea, it was thought fit and enough that a good ſquadron of light frigates ſhould ride on the coaſt of Scotland, and another of the ſame ſtrength to lie off of Plymouth; both which ſhould intercept the trade of Holland, both outward and inward, if they did not maintain it with ſtrong convoys, which would break their fleet, and in thoſe caſes the frigates would eaſily retire to their harbours. That ſome frigates ſhould be always in the downs, to chaſe picaroons from infeſting the coaſt, and to obſerve and get intelligence of the enemies motion, and upon occaſion ſhould retire up the river. That there ſhould be ſome of the greateſt ſhips at Chatham, Portſmouth, and other places, prepared and put in readineſs, againſt the end of the Summer; before which time money might be provided, and then the enemies fleet being weary and foul, it might be preſumed the French would return early into their own ports, which were ſo far off; and then the frigates from the Weſt and the North, might find the way to join with the great ſhips, which ſhould be ready againſt that time, and either fight the Dutch if they ſhould chuſe it, or infeſt their coaſt more than they had done this, and take all their ſhips homeward bound from all places; which upon the fame of their being maſters of the ſea all the ſummer; would repair home without apprehenſion of an enemy; and there were ſome officers of great experience at ſea, who being called by the king to adviſe upon this project, declared with confidence, that the Dutch would be greater loſers by the war thus conducted the next Summer, than they had been in any year ſince the war begun. For the ſecurity of trade it was declared that there was no poſſible way to ſecure it, but by reſtraining it, and not

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ſuffering any merchant ſhips to go to ſea, and to give them advice to ſend to all their factors and correſpondents that they ſhould ſend no goods home, till they received new orders. Which reſtraint ſome were againſt both becauſe it would have an ill reception with the people, when they ſhould find that a war, which had been entered into for the enlargement and advancement of trade, had produced a ceſſation of all trade; and it would appear very hard, that men, who had laid out their own ſtocks, and were willing to venture them, ſhould be forbid and hindered from ſending them to thoſe markets, for which they had provided them; and which would turn to little leſs loſs to them, then they ſhould incur by their being taken by the enemy. Then it would be not a diſcouragement, but a diſſipation of the ſeamen; who, if they could have no employment in the king's ſhips, or in the merchant ſhips, would be ſcattered abroad to ſeek their fortune; that they would not be brought together when the king had occaſion for their ſervice. In the laſt, that the giving this order for reſtraint and advice to the merchants, would be, and could not chuſe but be an abſolute publication of this reſolution of the kings to ſend out no fleet in the Spring, which was yet agreed to be the higheſt ſecret.

All theſe reaſons were temperately weighed and anſwered, that it could not be unreaſonable or unjuſt to hinder men from doing themſelves harm. The king could not take their goods from them to his own uſe; but he might lawfully hinder them from ſpoiling or deſtroying the goods that were their own. That their being taken by the enemy (which was unavoidable) concerned the king and kingdom little leſs than it did the private owners. It would increaſe the inſolence and the wealth of the enemy, and reflect upon his majeſty's

majeſty's honour, as well as impoveriſh his ſubjects; and the difference would be very great between loſing their goods, and keeping them upon their hands for a better market. For the diſſipation of the ſeamen, there would be no great danger of that: the ſquadrons on the weſtern and the northern coaſts, which muſt be very well manned, would entertain good numbers; and the reſt would put themſelves on board the privateers, who ſhould be all bound to come home againſt the time ſhould have occaſion for their ſervice; and then the privateers ſhould be reſtrained, as now the merchants. For the keeping the preſent reſolution ſecret, which would by this means be publiſhed, it were to be deſired that it might remain a ſecret as long as was poſſible. But as diſcerning men would eaſily diſcover it, and could not but already know that it was impoſſible for the king in time to ſet out a ſhip, ſo it would quickly be evident to all the world; and the ſecret was not to be affected longer than it could be concealed. There was another inconvenience or miſchief that was in view, that would come like an armed man upon the city; which was want of fuel, eſpecially the want of coals from Newcaſtle, of which there had been a vaſt quantity conſumed in the late fire, which had likewiſe conſumed thoſe houſes and chimneys which ſhould be ſupplied; yet the people remained ſtill, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded cloſe together. But that there could be no other remedy applied, but the ſending both orders to Newcaſtle, to employ all their ſhips and all they could procure, in ſending as much coals as was poſſible to London and the towns adjacent before the enemy's fleet could put to ſea, and convoys were aſſigned too ſtrong for their privateers or ſmall parties of their men of war; and the king gave two or

three veſſels of his own, and likewiſe money to fetch coals, that the poor might have them at the rates they coſt, and directed the city to do the ſame; all which produced ſome good effect. Upon the whole matter, and through the examination of the whole, the king concluded upon all the particulars mentioned before, aſſigning proper perſons to ſuperviſe every particular, that all ſhould be executed in time that was agreed upon. The duke iſſued out all his orders to the ſhips, with which Sir William Coventry was charged, whoſe office it was, and the king would charge himſelf with that which was moſt important, the fortification at Sheerneſs, whither his majeſty made a journey in the cold and depth of winter, took an engineer and ſome officers of the ordnance with him, that all things might be ſupplied from thence, which belonged to that office. He cauſed maſter workmen to be ſent from London, and drew common labourers enough out of the country, having provided money to pay them, and after all things were in this order, and he had ſeen the work begun, he left the maſter engineer whom he deſigned to be governor of the fort, for which he was very equal, upon the place; and committed the over-looking of the whole, that all poſſible expedition might be uſed to one of the commiſſioners of the ordnance, who promiſed to look carefully to it. His majeſty returned to London, when in the opinion of all his ſervants, he had ſtaid too long in ſuch a ſeaſon, and ſuch an air, to the danger of his health. How all theſe reſolutions and orders were executed afterwards, and complied with, muſt unavoidably be mentioned in its place. It cannot be imagined by any man, who in any degree knew him, that the chancellor, tho' he was preſent, could have any part in

theſe reſolutions; but the ſubmitting to them; every particular being ſo much out of his ſphere, that he never pretended to underſtand what was fit and reaſonable to be done; nor throughout the whole conduct of the war was he ever known to preſume to give an advice; but preſumeing that all, whoſe profeſſion it was, adviſed what was fit, he readily concurred. And he did always declare that in this laſt conſultation, all points were ſo fully debated; and that there was ſo concurrent an opinion in the commanders of the ſhips, and the officers of the navy, with the approbation of the duke, prince Rupert, and the general, that it was not poſſible to ſet out a fleet in time, equal to that of the enemy, to engage with it: and that the next beſt would be to ſtand upon the defenſive, in the manner propoſed; it did not appear to him, that there was any election left; but to purſue that courſe, which he did believe very reaſonably propoſed and reſolved upon; nor did any thing occur to him, why very much good might not be hoped from it; he being ſo totally unſkilful in the knowledge of the river, that he knew not where Sheerneſs was; nor had ever heard of the name of ſuch a place, till this laſt diſcourſe; nor had ever been upon any part of the river, than to get on ſhore as ſoon as could be poſſible. The king had not himſelf thought of this defenſive way, but approved it very much when he heard it ſo fully diſcuſſed, and in which himſelf had propoſed all his doubts, which no-body raiſed more pertinently in arguments of that nature than his majeſty. And it may be, he liked it the better, becauſe at that time as he was heartily weary of the war, ſo he was not without a reaſonable hope of peace, which he reſolved to cheriſh as he told the parliament, at parting, he would do. The grounds of which hope and the

progreſs thereupon, the entring upon a treaty, and the concluſion thereof, will be the diſcourſe and relation we ſhall next enter upon.

How ill ſucceſs ſoever had attended the negociation of Denmark, by the irreſolution and unſteadineſs of that court, Mr. Coventry had conducted what had been committed to him with very good effect in Sweden; and after he had diſpoſed that court (where he had rendered himſelf acceptable) to a juſt eſteem of the king's friendſhip, and an equal averſion to the Hollander; and concluded ſuch articles, as were for the preſent and joint convenience and benefit of both nations; and prepared them to be willing to enter into a nearer and ſtricter alliance; and, to that purpoſe, to ſend ambaſſadors into England, where they had an agent; he returned to give his majeſty an account and information of the conſtitution and temper of that court; and of the nature and diſpoſition of two embaſſadors, who where to attend his majeſty who where choſen before he left Stockholm; and reſolved to embark within ten days, which they did, and arrived about the time, or ſoon after that the city was ſo miſerably deſtroyed by fire: which was the leſs favourable conjuncture, not ſo much by the influence that dreadful diſtraction and damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the war, as by the ill humour which the parliament ſhortly after appeared to be in, and their manifeſt obſtinacy againſt the king's deſires, which was a temper very different from what they expected to have found; and what they had been informed, had poſſeſſed them from the time of his majeſty's return. Nor was this manifeſt indiſpoſition without ſome unhappy impreſſion upon the ſpirits of the embaſſadors; and that

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alacrity they brought with them preſently to enter into a treaty, and conjunction of forces againſt the common enemy. It was manifeſt that the crown of Sweden was weary of the obligations they had been long bound in to France, which had ſuperciliouſly neglected of late to comply with what was on their part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make alliances with Denmark, and the leſſer neighbour princes, as thoſe of the houſe of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, to their diſadvantage, than to conſider that crown, which had been ſo uſeful to them, as if their friendſhip was ſo conſiderable to them. Nor was this out of a real diſeſteem of them, but that they might bind them to a faſter dependance upon them; and that they might not be ſevered from their intereſt, whatſoever they ſhould declare it to be. And therefore when it was firſt ſuſpected that they might be inclined to England; and that Holland apprehended that they might be induced to make a conjunction with the biſhop of Munſter, France, (as hath been touched before) ſent their ambaſſador Pompone into Sweden, with a full years ſalary, of what was in arrear; much more ſtill remaining due; and to incline that crown to a neutrality between the Engliſh and the Dutch; in which he found Mr. Coventry had prevented him: and tho' he had not then the character of embaſſador, he was much better reſpected there than he was; and as they would have joined with the biſhop of Munſter, if he had advanced according to his pretence, or had not been abſolutely taken off from France, ſo when he was diverted from his purpoſe, they were the more inclined to make a firm alliance with England: and thereby ſuch a firmer conjunction with other princes, proteſtant or catholick,

that

that might give ſome check to the impetuous humour of France; which they now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the banks which belonged to their neighbours; as they had been formerly of the houſe of Auſtria; and for the ſame reaſon were as deſirous to retire from any dependance upon, or relation to that crown, as they had been formerly of its protection; and were very well prepared to change their alliance; and if they might not be loſers, to make a conjunction with Germany, and the houſe of Auſtria; into which it was reaſonable to be preſumed, that the united provinces would be glad to be received upon moderate conditions, when a peace ſhould be made with England. And this was the proſpect that had been preſented to them by Mr. Coventry; and upon view of which they now ſent their embaſſadors, without being terrified by the declaration of France, on the behalf of the Dutch; and with a reſolution if they could not perſwade Holland to ſeparate from that conjunction, and make a peace a-part with the king (which they laboured by their embaſſador to the ſtates) to join their intereſt frankly to that of his majeſty's; and to run the hazard, and expect the iſſue and event of the war. The two embaſſadors were Fleming and Comatt, both ſenators in the great council of Sweden; and men of prime authority there. The former of the greater place and eſteem, being a noble-man of an antient and noble extraction; of a family in Scotland, that had lived through many deſcents in Sweden, in great employment and luſtre: and this man never diſſembled a particular devotion to the king; and for that reaſon principally was deſigned to this negociation. The other was not ſo well born or bred, or of ſo chearful a com-

a complection, but a more thinking and melancholick man; more converſant in books, and more verſed in the courſe and forms of buſineſs; and by his own virtue and humble induſtry, had from a mean and low birth, which in thoſe northern kingdoms, is the higheſt diſadvantage; by degrees aſcended to the degree of a ſenator, which is the chiefeſt qualification: and had gotten his firſt credit and reputation, by a negotiation he was intruſted with in Holland, and a treaty well managed by him there; which made him liable in that court to be much inclined to the Dutch; and to have ſome particular friendſhip with De Witt; they having ſtudied together in Leyden, when they were young, and their familiarity afterwards, was improved to a good correſpondence in that negociation of Holland. This being well known, and commonly ſpoken of there, Mr. Coventry endeavoured to prevent his deſignation to that employment, by ſpeaking to the chancellor of that kingdom, who always received him with open arms, and gave good teſtimony of his hearty and paſſionate deſire of a firm conjunction between the two crowns; and tho' he was of a French extraction, had a full jealouſy of the want of ſincerity and juſtice of that nation. When he diſcovered the apprehenſion Mr .Coventry had, he perſwaded him to acquieſce in his judgment, rather than to credit common rumour; that he well knew both, and had contributed to the election of both, who were very fit to be joined together in an employment of this nature; the gayety and warmth of the one, ſtanding in need ſometimes of the flegm of the other; who would yet pay that reverence to him, that was due to his ſuperior quality, and that he was too good a Sweed to have inclinations to the Dutch, how much

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converſation ſoever he had with them. In a word, he would paſs his word, which put an end to all further doubts; and it was well enough known, that he had been raiſed by, and was a creature of the chancellor; and in truth from the time of their arrival in England, he carried himſelf very fairly, and without any viſible inclination to the Dutch, and much leſs to the French. And they both very frankly declared to thoſe of the king's miniſters, with whom they conferred with intimacy; that that crown would gladly be ſeparated from them, if a good expedient might be found to make them no loſers by it. Yet it is as true, that after they had been ſome months in England, and ſaw in how ill a poſture the king was for the carrying on the war; and how far the parliament was from giving money; or from any reaſonable compliance with his majeſty's deſires, Comatt did not concur with the ſame warmth in his diſpatches with Fleming into Sweden, but wrote apart to the miniſters there, that they muſt take new meaſures, and not depend upon a conjunction with England; to which how well ſoever the king was inclined, He would not be able to bear the part they expected, by reaſon that he had no power with the parliament. Which letters his majeſty's agent, then in Sweden, had a ſight of; which produced no other effect there, but that if they ſaw that the king was either inclined to a peace, or would be reduced to a neceſſity to treat; the embaſſador ſhould offer in the name of their maſter his interpoſition, which their miniſters in France and Holland, ſhould there likewiſe make proffer of, upon advertiſements firſt from them; but with a ſecret aſſurance to the king, that if a treaty ſhould not take effect,

which

(which it could hardly be believed it would do) the crown of Sweden would firmly unite itself to his majesty's interest, and engage in the war with him; which it was evident they were more inclined to, than to a peace, in which France might be comprehended: but that which they most desired was, that a peace might be made with the Dutch, without comprehending France; in which they would willingly enter; which would draw Spain and all the princes of Germany, to desire to be admitted for their own security.

The Conde of Molines was ambassador from Spain, and near the king; a man rather sincere than subtle, and so had the more need of the advice and assistance of the baron d'Isola, who was, under the title of envoy from the emperor, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the emperor's ministers were) by the king of Spain, who being a Burgundian born in those parts which remain subject to Spain, had an implacable hatred to the French; and by the employments he had undergone in Italy and other places where he had been ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that he was become notoriously odious to the French, and was a man of great experience and very subtle parts. Both these ministers did heartily wish a peace between England and Holland, with the exclusion of France; but if that could not be, they had much rather the war should continue as it was, than that France should be comprehended in the peace, for which they had some reason; for at this time the king of Spain died, which they had too many reasons to believe would put an end to the quiet of Flanders; and therefore would be glad that they might have the assistance of England for their defence; and in which Holland could not think itself unconcerned. The probability of

this, and the conſtant intelligence they received from the Hague, that there were already jealouſies grown up between the French and the Dutch, perſuaded them, and they endeavoured to perſuade the king, that Holland might be now induced to treat for themſelves; or if they could not do that, but muſt proceed jointly with France, they would, upon aſſurance of the king's affection, ſever themſelves from them if they inſiſted upon any thing that was not for the joint benefit of all. The king left them to do what they thought fit towards it, without undertaking any thing on his part untill their fair intentions were diſcerned; and then to aſſure them of his majeſty's inclinations to peace upon juſt and honourable conditions. There is no doubt there was a real jealouſy and diſſatisfaction between France and Holland, as, this time the Dutch complained that the French had broken their promiſe with them no leſs this year than they had done the laſt: they had indeed declared and proclaimed a war, but they had done no acts of hoſtility; and whereas they were engaged that their fleet ſhould have joined with theirs in the month of May, they had never been in view; but at a great diſtance ſuffered the Dutch to fight many days together, without any help from them; and, upon their renewed promiſe, they had again carried out their fleet to meet with them in Auguſt, when they failed again, and left them expoſed to the whole Engliſh fleet; ſo that they were compelled, with ſome loſs, to get again into their harbours; and now they had a real apprehenſion that they might treat with England apart, and leave them to ſupport the war at ſea by themſelves, whilſt they purſued their expedition againſt Flanders, upon the death of the king of Spain. On the other ſide, France as much complained of the proceedings of the Dutch; that

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after they had received a great ſum of money from them, without which they could not have ſet out their fleet, they no more cared for a conjunction with their ſhips, nor went to that length at ſea which they were bound to join with them, which they might have done if they had continued their courſe, when they put to ſea in the beginning of June; inſtead of which they went over to the coaſt of England to find the Engliſh, confeſſing thereby that they had no need of the aſſiſtance of the French ſhips, but leaving them to ſhift for themſelves: and afterwards, in the end of Auguſt, they came not to the place they promiſed to have done; by reaſon of which neglect and breach of faith, if a ſingular act of providence had not prevented it, their whole fleet had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, as ſome part of it did. But that which made them likewiſe willing that this war ſhould be at an end was, that now the king of Spain being dead, they might enter into a war with Spain, towards which they prepared manifeſtos to publiſh upon the matter of their right; and already prepared levies of men, of which they could pretend no other uſe: yet they profeſſed to the Spaniſh ambaſſador to have no ſuch deſign in their purpoſes. However they would not enter upon any treaty apart without the Dutch; nor would de Witt, who entirely governed the councils of Holland, be induced to conſent to any overtures made to ſeparate before or in the treaty from France; but informed them of whatſoever was propoſed by the baron of Iſola, or the Spaniard, or any other perſon to that purpoſe; and enlarged upon that information, more than was true, to endear his own punctuality.

The mother of the king was then at Paris, having choſen rather to reſide there, than in England, ſince ſhe

saw the resolution of a war between them, and desiring nothing more than to be an instrument in the composing those differences, which she thought were not good for either of the crowns; and found now another stile in that court, than it had used to discourse in; and from the time of the news of the death of the king of Spain, that the French king had spoken as if he wished a peace with England. Whereupon, about the time when the parliament was prorogued, the earl of St. Alban's came to London, as to look to the queen's affairs, of which he was the great intendant: he informed the king of the good temper the French court was in; and that he was confident, if his majesty would make any advance towards it; the queen would be able to dispose that king to hearken to it, and to be a mediator between England and Holland; and either to draw them to consent to what was just, or to separate from them; and he thought it very reasonable, that the conditions should be referred to the king of France, who he was sure upon such a trust, would be very careful of the king's honour and interest. He professed to have no authority for any thing he proposed, from the French king, or any of his ministers; but from the queen's conjectures and his own observation; and if the king would give him a commission he would presently return, and would not be known to have any power, till he should find such a conjuncture to own it, as the peace should be concluded, before there should be any discourse of a treaty, which he knew the French most desired, least Spain might interpose, to perplex or delay it; and therefore he proposed that he might carry instructions with him; upon what conditions the king would be willing that a peace should

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be eſtabliſhed. His majeſty was reſolved never to make the French king arbitrator of the conditions of the peace, nor that it ſhould be treated at Paris; and moſt of all that the earl of St. Albans ſhould have any power to treat: who the king always uſed to ſay was more a French, than an Engliſhman. And he likewiſe reſolved that no overture ſhould be made towards a peace, in his name: whilſt this was in ſuſpence, the earl received letters from Paris, in which he was adviſed to return thither with power to treat, and with information, what conditions the king expected; for that his moſt chriſtian majeſty had ſo prepared the Dutch, that he ſhould have preſent power to treat and conclude, and ſo all things might be ſettled, before the formality of a treaty ſhould be entered into, or heard of. This did not alter the king's reſolution againſt authorizing the earl to treat, or making Paris the place of the treaty; but becauſe the letters were written by monſieur Rouvigny, who was a perſon well known to the king, and of whom he had a good opinion; and who he well knew to be too wary a man to write in that manner, without having good authority to do ſo; his majeſty was contented that the earl ſhould make haſte to Paris, and if he found by Rouvigny, that what they propoſed, was really deſired, he ſhould undertake to know that the king was very well inclined to peace, and that himſelf would willingly confer with any body, he would carry him to; and whatſoever ſhould be propoſed, he would, with all poſſible expedition tranſmit it to the king, with this further direction, that if he were ſatisfied that their intentions were real, which the alterations in their own affairs made

probable,

probable, he ſhould endeavour by the queen or Rouvigvy to diſcover whether it would not be poſſible to perſuade that king to treat apart, and exclude Holland; and if it appeared to him, that was not to be hoped, that at leaſt his majeſty would think it reaſonable, that the Dutch ſhould reſtore whatſoever fort or other place, which they had taken upon the coaſt of Guinea, and likewiſe pay a good ſum of money to the king towards the charge of the war. The earl of St. Alban's had no mind to return with no larger a commiſſion, and pretended to know that this was not the way to advance a treaty; and that he could as well write what the king directed, and know again by letter what they thought of it; and therefore he would ſtay and diſpatch the buſineſs, which the queen ſent him about, before he would return: but when he ſaw the king was contented he ſhould ſtay, rather than have nothing to do in the treaty, he choſe to be at the beginning of it, and thought he ſhould not be afterwards left out; and ſo offered the king to depart without further delay. The king had from the beginning informed the chancellor of all that the earl had ſaid to him from his arrival; and when he had received thoſe letters from Rouvigny, he ſent him to ſhew them to him; and himſelf came preſently whilſt the earl was there, and directed him to prepare the inſtructions for him, which the earl likewiſe deſired he might do. The chancellor very well knew that his credit with the king was much leſſened, and that of the lord Arlington's much encreaſed; who did not like that he ſhould meddle in the affairs proper to his office: beſides he had no mind to be intruſted with the tranſ-

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actions with France; of whose want of faith he had too much experience, which would neither be grateful to the queen mother, nor to the earl; and therefore he very earneſtly beſought the king, that it being the lord Arlington's province, all thoſe diſpatches might paſs through his hands. The king ſaid that he knew the lord Arlington deſired his help; and that he ſhould prepare all thoſe diſpatches, which he required him to do. And the earl of St. Albans ſeemed very much to deſire, that not only his inſtructions might be prepared by him; but that he might always receive his majeſty's pleaſure ſignified by him, upon any material point, that ſhould ariſe; which the king promiſed him he ſhould do. Upon which the other, who durſt not decline thoſe commands he was ſo unwilling to obey, humbly deſired his majeſty that the whole matter might be firſt communicated to that committee of council, with which he conſulted his moſt ſecret affairs, and that the earl of St. Albans might be preſent at the debate; and that whatever he ſhould be appointed to put into writing, might be peruſed at that board, and if it required his majeſty's ſignature, it ſhould be preſented to him by the ſecretary; all which his majeſty conſented to, and all being done according to what is mentioned before, the earl departed for France.

It is very true, there was yet no viſible alteration in the king's confidence towards the chancellor, with reference to his buſineſs, in which his majeſty had no reſerve; and ſpent as much time with him, and vouchſafed as often to go to his houſe, as he had ever uſed to do; but when he offered to ſpeak to him of other matters, as he could not forbear to do: which he thought concerned him more than his moſt public tranſactions, he found his countenance

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presently shut; no intention, and no answer, for such a one as shewed he was not pleased; and who took all occasions to make others see, that he was advised only by him, in what immediately related to his business, and not more in that than by other men. When the earl came to Paris, he found the French less upon their guard than he expected; and the king himself frankly expressed to him to wish an end of this war; and that he might be possessed of the king's friendship, which he valued exceedingly, and referred to monsieur Leon, who his majesty said was prepared to speak to him. Monsieur De Leon kept himself within generals, of the benefit that England would receive by a peace; which made his christian majesty desire to promote it, and never more to depart it from his friendship, that he was obliged in honour now not to quit the Dutch, having entered into a treaty with them, when he had no imagination that there would be a war between them and England; that he had been often sorry for it, and had given them just occasions to complain, that he forbore longer than he ought to have done, to give them help; and therefore he could not now leave them to themselves, except they were obstinate and refused to make peace upon just conditions; and then he would renounce them. But when he found that the earl had no power, and that he talked of money to be given for the charge of the war, and expected to have particular overtures to send to the king; he broke off his discourse, till he could confer with his master. Within two or three days monsieur De Leon visited the earl, and told him that if any thing were to be done towards a peace, there must be no time lost, it was yet in the power of the most christian king to bring it

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to paſs, upon juſt and honourable terms, but he knew not how long it would continue in his power; for he confeſſed the Dutch took themſelves to be ſo much behind hand, that they had no mind to peace; believing they had now advantage. That it was never heard of that after a war between two nations, upon making peace, either ſide, conſented to pay the charge of the war; therefore any expectation of that, or but mention of it, would ſhut the door againſt any treaty. He gave two papers to him to ſend to the king, both under his own hand, which his majeſty had the choice of, and which the Dutch would conſent to: but if more ſhould be required, the treaty was at an end, before it was begun, and the ſword muſt determine it. One of the papers contained an equivalent of which his majeſty might make his choice, whether all things ſhould continue in the ſtate and poſture in which they were at preſent either ſide enjoying what they had got, and ſuſtaining what they had loſt, and ſo all things to remain as they were before the war, or that a true and juſt computation ſhould be made of the loſſes on both ſides, and they who were found to have received moſt damage, ſhould be repaired at the charge of the other. The other paper was, that if his majeſty approved of either of theſe expedients, he ſhould himſelf make choice of the place where the treaty ſhould be, whither all parties ſhould ſend their embaſſadors, but then the French king deſired that his majeſty would not make choice of any place in the king of Spain's dominions, and the Dutch embaſſador there had nominated Cologn, or Frankfort, or Hamburgh; and the earl of St. Albans immediately ſent away an expreſs with theſe two papers to the king, upon receipt whereof the council were

ſummoned. There was no hope of money, which ſome not unreaſonably had expected ſhould whenever a peace be made; and it had been mentioned in Holland, as a thing they expected ſhould be propounded; it may be that it might be propounded and rejected, that the diſpatch of whatſoever ſhould be agreed to, concerned the king very much, that the Dutch might not put to ſea, nor diſcover that the king had no fleet to ſet out; for the ſpring was not yet come, tho' approaching. There appeared little difficulty in the choice of the equivalent, for the Engliſh had taken much more from the Dutch, than they had taken from England. The other computation would be endleſs, and liable to very difficult examinations; ſo that by a unanimous advice the king reſolved to chuſe the former equivalent. But then the place for the treaty was not ſo eaſy to be choſen; the moſt natural had been Bruſſels, Antwerp, or ſome other large city in Flanders, which were all neutral places; and to which all parties might repair with the ſame eaſe and ſecurity: whereas all the places mentioned in Germany, were at ſo great a diſtance that the ſummer would be far entered into and ſo many acts of hoſtility paſs before the embaſſadors could meet, and the Engliſh muſt paſs through the enemies country thither: therefore there could be no thought of any of thoſe places. Then the king of France had taken upon him to exclude Flanders, which he had no power to do; and it was as deniable to the Dutch, as to the king, and therefore it was thought reaſonable that the king ſhould inſiſt upon ſome good town there, of which there was choice enough: and if Holland ſhould approve it, France could not reject it. But on the other hand it was clearly diſcerned, that

France

France would never ſend embaſſadors into a country which he meant at the ſame time to invade; and that his majeſty knew very well to be the intention, and the ground of that king's deſiring the peace; which it was plain enough the Dutch did not deſire, and were only drawn to conſent to a treaty by the poſitive demand of France, which they durſt not contradict; and therefore it concerned the king to preſerve that good diſpoſition, and that the French embaſſador might come full inſtructed to concur with the Engliſh, in what ſhould be juſt; and proteſt againſt any inſolent carriage of the Dutch the Dane, who was likewiſe to have his embaſſadors upon the place. Upon theſe reaſons the expreſs returned, with his majeſty's conſent and election of the firſt equivalent, and that as ſoon as he ſhould know that the Dutch had conſented to it; his majeſty would propoſe ſome equal place for the treaty. And as ſoon as the expreſs was diſpatched, his majeſty entered upon the debate of a fit place for the treaty; and ſaid that he had a propoſition then made to him by Sir William Coventry, that was of ſuch a nature as much ſurprized him, as he believed it would the lords; he had not thought to diſlike or condemn it, and ſo bade the other to propoſe it. He with ſome ſhort apology, which he did not uſe to make, ſaid, that he perceived there would be little leſs difficulty in agreeing upon a place for the treaty, than upon any doubts which might ariſe in it. For if the king of France was to be gratified in the excluſion of Flanders; it would be very inconvenient to oblige the king, which by the great delay would deprive the king of the greateſt benefit he expected from

the treaty; the ſpeedy diſpatch thereof would be attended with the greateſt conveniences, therefore he had propoſed to the king that he would immediately write to the ſtates-general, without acquainting France with it; and offer to ſend his ambaſſadors to treat of the peace, at the Hague, that it might be ſpeedily concluded, which would otherwiſe take up much time in ſending, for any reſolution to the ſtates, upon what ſhould ariſe; if they conſented to it, it would probably be attended with ſucceſs, the general affection of the people being well known to deſire peace, and if they refuſed it, the world would conclude that they would have no peace, when they would not treat about it; and that his majeſty would never have done them the honour to have ſent his ambaſſadors home to them, if he had intended to deny any thing that was reaſonable to them.

It was very new, and thought of by nobody, but him and the lord Arlington who had communicated it together, andt he objection of the condeſcenſion, that it would ſeem to moſt men, as if the king ſent to beg a peace at their own doors, was obvious to all men; but that would have been an objection againſt, admitting it to have been at Paris; by the ſtates, not upon any level that pretended to an equality, the probable convenience or benefit that might attend it, was only to be conſidered, and the affection and deſire of the people generally to peace, was ſo notorious, that there was reaſon to believe they would not be willing that a treaty begun amongſt them, ſhould end but with effect; and therefore it was unanimouſly agreed, that the advice ſhould be purſued. But then it was a new doubt, how the meſſage or overture of

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letters, for the form was not yet thought of, ſhould be conveyed, for the ſending a trumpet or expreſs, had much more of application than the thing itſelf; and it was to be wiſhed that it might be gone out of the king's hands, before the anſwer could come from Paris; leaſt new inſtances ſhould be made for a particular place. It was at laſt reſolved that the Swede's embaſſadors (both France and Holland having accepted the mediation of that crown) ſhould be conſulted with to engage their miniſter at the Hague, to deliver it to the States general; for there was ſome apprehenſion, that if De Witt, knew of it, it might be conſidered only by that committee, which was deputed for that affair; and never be brought to the States; and the adjuſting all that was commended to the chancellor, who preſently ſent for the embaſſadors, and found them very ready to perform any office which might bring them upon the ſtage in the treaty. And upon communication together they were willing to ſend a ſervant of their own to the Hague, who ſhould deliver to their embaſſador the king's meſſage to the States-general, as an effect of their mediation and credit with the king; and ſo it was delivered, not in the form of a letter, but of a meſſage in the third perſon to the ſtates-general, ſigned by the king, and under the ſignet, and the embaſſadors ſent a gentleman in poſt with it. But within two days a new alarm comes from France, and all that was done, proved to be to no purpoſe. When they received the king's anſwer; they could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as they could expect; and Monſieur De Leon ſhewed it to the Dutch embaſſador, who finding that he was ſatisfied with it, and by him, that the king was ſo too, fell into much

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paſſion and declared that it was not according to the conſent, he had given the king, and to Monſieur De Leon; and that he muſt proteſt againſt any treaty to be entered into upon this declaration. He put him then in mind that he had informed the king in his preſence, that there was an article in the late treaty between England and Holland, by which they were obliged to deliver up the iſland of Poleroon in the Eaſt-Indies, to the Eaſt-India company of London, which they had formerly conſented to with Cromwell, but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were reſolved rather to continue the war, than to part with it, which he had declared, when with reference to all other things he conſented to the alternative; and if the king would releaſe that article of the former treaty, his maſters would not enter upon any now. Whether this was true or no, cannot be known, but Monſieur De Leon came in great diſorder to the lord of St. Albans, and told him all that the embaſſador had ſaid, and confeſſed it to be very true, and that the king remembered it well, and promiſed that article ſhould be releaſed; but that he not clearly underſtanding the delivery of it to be contained in a former treaty, and knowing it had been many years in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch, and that it ſtill remained ſo, he thought it had been comprehended in the alternative and forgot to inſert it in the paper that was ſent to the king, for which he aſked a thouſand pardons; and made it his ſuit to the king, that he would yield to it, and that a treaty, that was ſo neceſſary to the good of Chriſtendom, might not be extinguiſhed upon his negligence and want of memory, which was a ſtrange excuſe for a miniſter of his known ſagacity. The earl of

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St. Albans refuſed to tranſmit any ſuch tergiverſation to the king, and ſaid he knew the king would never conſent to it, and that this manner of proceeding, after that his majeſty had conſented to what themſelves propoſed, would ſhut out future confidence of their ſincerity. Monſieur De Leon was exceedingly troubled and out of countenance, as a man conſcious to himſelf of a great overſight, and deſired him that he would meet the Dutch embaſſador at his lodgings, that they might together endeavour to remove him from the obſtinacy he profeſſed, which the earl was contented to do; and the embaſſador, how unwilling ſoever, was prevailed with to meet at the time appointed, but they were no ſooner met, and Monſieur De Leon entered upon the argument of Poleroon, but the embaſſador fell into a rude paſſion, and ſaid the war ſhould determine it; and when the earl of St. Albans began to ſpeak of the unſeaſonableneſs of the demand, and entered upon the foul manner in which they had firſt taken that iſland from the Engliſh, who were in poſſeſſion of it, he told him that he had nothing to ſay to him, and uſed much other language unfit for the other to hear; and he had not returned with intereſt, if Monſieur De Leon had not interpoſed, and been very deſirous the conference ſhould end: The embaſſadors inſolence being not to be endured, and ſo they parted, Leon ſeeming very much offended; and complained to the king and the earl gave the account of all to his majeſty.

The French King was no leſs ſurprized and offended when he heard what meſſage the king had ſent to the States, which he was advertiſed of by an expreſs from Holland, than De Wit had been at the delivery of it, who

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preſently knew the driſt of it, and could not forbear to tell the States that the deſign was only to ſtir up the people againſt the magiſtrates, and indeed to make them the judges of the conditions of peace; and he knew well that the people generally were no friends to the Eaſt-India company, where himſelf had a great ſtock, and therefore would never conſent that a treaty entered into ſhould break only upon their intereſt; which likewiſe was the reaſon why they had provided that that particular ſhould be conſented to, before any treaty ſhould be agreed upon; and hereupon he prevailed upon the States general forthwith to declare in the negative, that the treaty ſhould not be at the Hague; but at the ſame time, after naming again Cologn and Frankfort, they added, that if the king deſired to do them the honour to appoint it in any part of their dominions, which they ſhould not preſume to propoſe, they ſhould conſent that it might be at Breda, or Maeſtricht, or a place or two that they named: and this was reſolved before the people heard that the king had named the Hague, and wondered and murmured at their refuſal. The king of France took it ill, that at a time when he proceeded with ſo much openneſs, and had given the firſt riſe to a treaty, and opened the door, which the Hollander had peeviſhly ſhut againſt it, by his own offering the alternative, which the king had ſo far approved as to make his election, that he ſhould at the ſame time, without communicating it to them, ſend this overture to the Hague, which troubled him the more that it gave him matter of jealouſy to apprehend that there was ſome other underhand treaty, that was concealed from him, and contrived by the baron of Iſola, who he knew had been privately at the Hague, and had conference with De Wit. And the ſame imagination

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did more perplex the queen mother and the earl of St. Albans, who looked upon this as a device to exclude them from having any ſhare of the peace; the earl having digeſted the concluſion in his own breaſt; that in what place ſoever the treaty ſhould be held, he ſhould, without doubt, be intruſted in the managery of it: however the king could not own his part of the diſlike, ſince his majeſty might, without any violation of friendſhip, make the overture by meſſage to the Hague as to or by him; therefore he ſeemed to take no exception to it; and only ſent the king word, that he believed the Dutch would quickly diſcern that this condeſcenſion in his majeſty proceeded from ſome expectation of a party to ſecond it; and therefore he was confident they would never conſent to treat at the Hague; but he propoſed, as the beſt way for expedition, that it might be at Dover, which he adviſed his majeſty not to reject; for if it were once begun there, it might poſſibly, and he would further it all he could, quickly be removed to Canterbury; and probably might be concluded in London. But before this meſſage arrived, the other new demand of Poleroon, with Monſieur De Leon's acknowledgment of the defect of his memory, and that he ought to have inſerted it in the paper that contained the alternative, with all the excuſes he made for it, was received, which ſeemed to put an end to all hopes of peace. The king was highly incenſed, and looked upon it as an affront contrived by both parties to amuſe him. Every body concluded that there could be no ſafety in depending upon any thing that could be offered from France, when they could never be without as reaſonable a pretence as they had at preſent, to diſclaim or avoid any conceſſion in writing;

that the particular demand would never be conſented to by his majeſty, without ſwerving from the common rules of juſtice, and the violation of his own honour, which he was in juſtice bound to maintain, and which he had in juſtice no power to releaſe. It was an intereſt ſo valuable that Cromwell had inſiſted upon it ſo reſolutely, that they had conſented to it, as a principal article of the peace he made with them, by which he gained great reputation with the people, and his majeſty had thought himſelf ſo much concerned in honour not to ſuffer his ſubjects to be deprived of that right which Cromwell had vindicated for them, tho' by his death it came not to be executed; that he would never conſent to the treaty that had been concluded ſince his happy return, until they conſented to, and renewed the ſame article, and promiſed the redelivery of the ſaid iſland to the Engliſh by ſuch a day; and their having broken their faith in not delivering it according to the laſt treaty, and with very offenſive circumſtances his majeſty had declared to be a principal cauſe of the war, and made them unqueſtionably to appear the firſt aggreſſor; and in that reſpect his honour could not receive a more mortal wound, than in releaſing that article, which concerned the eſtates of other men, and would in the opinion of the world draw the guilt of the war upon himſelf; or which would be as bad, the reproach of having purchaſed a peace upon very diſhonourable conditions to himſelf, at the charge and with the eſtate of his ſubjects. Upon the whole, the king reſolved to undergo the hazards of the war, upon what diſadvantage ſoever, rather than to conſent to a propoſition ſo diſhonourable; and a diſpatch was preſently

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ſent to the earl of St. Albans, with a very lively reſentment of the indignity offered to the king, in receding from what was offered by themſelves, and in asking what he was reſolved never to grant; and all were enjoined to review all that had been reſolved for the war, and to give the utmoſt advancement to it that could be poſſible. And without doubt, if Spain had yet put itſelf into any poſture to defend it, and to act any part towards the ſupport of a common intereſt, the king would hardly have been perſuaded to have hearkened more to any propoſitions from France.

Notwithſtanding all this, new overtures and new importunities were ſent from France; it was true that the Dutch had always proteſted againſt making a peace, or conſenting to a treaty without the releaſe of Poleroon, which his chriſtian majeſty had conſented to, and could not recede from it without their conſent, tho' the mention of it had been unfortunately omitted by Monſieur De Leon; but his majeſty promiſed and engaged his royal word, that when the treaty ſhould be entered into, he would uſe all his credit and authority to perſuade the States-general, to recede from their authority; and to make no alteration in the laſt treaty, but all things to remain as they had been ſettled by it; and if he could not prevail with them to ſatisfy him therein, as he did fear that there was upon their particular intereſt, ſome peremptory reſolution fixed from whence they would not remove as to the main, yet in that caſe he did in no degree deſpair of obliging them to give a conſiderable ſum of money for recompenſe thereof, which he deſired might ſatisfy the king, who would find himſelf at much eaſe by

it, and if the commoners once met, and the treaty was begun, it would not be diſſolved, before a peace ſhould be concluded; and that the French embaſſadors as ſoon as they met, ſhould propoſe a ceſſation from all acts of hoſtility, which he expected ſhould be as ſoon yielded to as propoſed; and that already they had promiſed that their fleet ſhould remain in their harbours till the middle of May, before which time the treaty might well begin; and from the preſent time the French king promiſed that no hoſtile act ſhould be done by him, and that his own fleet ſhould not ſtir out of their ports, and that his embaſſadors ſhould in all things behave themſelves as his majeſty could wiſh, that particular only of Poleroone excepted, in which they ſhould do as he had promiſed. The king had by this time had recourſe to all the inventions and devices, which might enable him to ſet out a fleet, that might be able to fight the enemy, but in vain; he found all men of the ſame opinion they had been, and that he muſt be upon the defenſive in the manner expreſſed before, and expect the end of the Summer before he could draw his ſhips together, and that there was a univerſal impatience for peace; ſo that when the warmth of his indignation was a little remitted, he was very willing to hear any thing that might revive the hope of a treaty, when this laſt overture from Paris arrived; upon which he preſently convened the council, that he might take a ſpeedy reſolution what he was to do, for he ſaw many conveniencies might be loſt by the not ſpeedily entering upon the treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all; the proteſtation and promiſe of France to aſſiſt in all things, that particular only excepted, for his

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majeſty's ſervice, and his promiſe even in that made him willing to believe that they might be real, the hope of recompenſe for it ſeemed little inferior to the redelivery of the iſland, and was an equal ſatisfaction to his majeſty's honour; and it ſeemed the more probable to be compaſſed, in that De Witt, in his private conference with the baron of Iſola, in all his paſſion that he would not endure the mention of the delivery of Poleroon, and ſaid that the ſtates would periſh before they would part with it, concluded that he would not ſay, that they might not be perſuaded to give ſome recompenſe for it, and many believed that the Eaſt-India company which was only concerned in the intereſt of it, would chuſe rather to receive a good recompenſe than the iſland itſelf, which was a barren ſandy ſoil, which yielded no fruit but only nutmegs, which was the ſole commodity it bore; and is a commodity of great value. But when they were bound to give it up to Cromwell, there had been immediate order ſent to cut down all the trees upon the Iſland, which order would be now again repeated, and ſo no leſs than ſeven years muſt expire, before any fruit could be expected from thence; and it was ſo far from any Engliſh factory, and ſo near to the Dutch, that they would eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it again, when they had a mind to it. And therefore if the company might have money, or ſuch a quantity of nutmegs delivered to them, as might, beſides being enough for the expence of England, bear a part in the foreign trade, which had been mentioned by ſome merchants in that company, it might be reaſonably preferable to the iſland. Whatſoever reſolution ſhould in the end be taken, this expedient

ent of recompenſe gave a hint to the council, that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the buſineſs of Poleroon to the ſole managery of the Eaſt-India company, who ſhould be adviſed to chuſe ſome members of their own, who ſhould go over with the embaſſadors and receive all advice and aſſiſtance from them in the conduct of their pretences; and they would be witneſſes of what the king inſiſted upon in their behalf, and would likewiſe judge, if nothing prevented the peace, but that intereſt, how far it ſhould be inſiſted on. The Eaſt-India company was ſent for, and were told that the king had hope of a treaty for peace, which he preſumed would be welcome to them; he heard that the greateſt difficulty and obſtruction that was like to ariſe, would be concerning their intereſt in the iſland of Poleroon, which he was reſolved never to abandon; but becauſe he heard likewiſe that the Dutch did intend to offer a recompenſe, rather than to reſtore the place, and that the recompenſe might be ſuch as might be as agreeable to them of which he would not take upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to themſelves, that he had given them this timely notice of it, that they might bethink themſelves what was fit for them to do, upon a proſpect of all that might probably occur; and that they might make choice of ſuch perſons among themſelves, who beſt underſtood their affairs, to the end that when the treaty ſhould be agreed upon, and the place appointed, and his majeſty had reſolved what embaſſadors he would ſend, of all which they ſhould have ſeaſonable notice; theſe perſons elected by them, as there commiſſioners might go over with the embaſſadors, that when the point came into debate, and the Dutch ſhould call ſome of the Eaſt-India company

pany to inform them; they likewiſe might be ready to advertiſe his embaſſadors of whatſoever might advance their pretences; and if a recompenſe was to be conſidered, they might enter into that conſultation with the other deputies; and that they ſhould be ſure to receive all the advice and aſſiſtance from his embaſſadors, that they could require, or ſtand in need of. The company received this information from his majeſty, with all demonſtration of duty and ſubmiſſion, giving humble thanks for his majeſty's bounty and care of their intereſt, and ſaid they would not fail to make choice of a committee to attend the embaſſadors when they ſhould know it would be ſeaſonable.

The king thought it now time to receive the advice of his whole council-board upon this affair; which had been hitherto only debated before the committee for foreign affairs; and ſo being aſſembled, an account was given of all that had paſſed in France and in Holland, by the baron of Iſola, and by the Swediſh embaſſadors: and his majeſty ſaid thereupon, that he had yet taken no reſolution, and had been ſo provoked by the miſcarriage of France, that he would have been glad to have put himſelf into a better poſture, and thought not further of a treaty, till there ſhould appear a more favourable conjuncture; but they now underſtood as much as he did with reference to the ſtate he was in, both at home and abroad, and that he was reſolved to follow their advice. All the objections which had been foreſeen before, and the conſiderations thereupon were renewed and again debated, and in the end there was a general concurrence, that his majeſty ſhould embrace the opportunity of a treaty; and if a reaſonable peace could be obtained, it would

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be very grateful to the whole kingdom, that was weary of the war, and that his majeſty ſhould loſe no more time in returning ſuch a diſpatch to Paris, as might bring on the treaty. And ſome of the lords proceeded ſo far as to declare that the conſideration of Poleroon was not of that importance; nor could be thought ſo by the Eaſt-India company themſelves; as that the inſiſting upon it ſhould deprive the kingdom of a peace, that was ſo neceſſary for it. But the king thought the entering upon that argument was not yet ſeaſonable; but he gave orders for the diſpatch to be prepared for France: there were two material points not yet determined, the firſt which was fit to be inſerted into the diſpatch, which was the nomination of the place, where the treaty ſhould be; ſome were of opinion that his majeſty ſhould hold of the overture that had been made from France, which was ſince likewiſe confirmed by Holland, that the treaty ſhould be at Dover; but they changed their minds when they well conſidered that the ſame objections would be naturally made againſt Dover, on the king's behalf, that had been by the Dutch againſt the Hague, and that the people there, and leſs at Canterbury, were not uncapable of any impreſſions which the numerous trains of the French and Dutch would be ready to imprint in them; in a word, there was much more fit to be conſidered upon that point, than is fit to be remembered. The concluſion was, that Breda, which had been offered by the Dutch, ſhould be the place the king would accept, which was added to the diſpatch for Paris, and preſently ſent away; the other matter not determined of, was the choice of embaſſadors, which had been never entered upon. The king had ſpoken with the chancellor, what perſons would

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be fit to be employed in that negociation, when the time ſhould be ripe for it; and took notice, as he did frequently, of the ſmall choice he had of men well acquainted with buſineſs of that nature; upon which he had named to the king the lord Hollis, who had been lately ambaſſador in France, and was in all reſpects equal to any buſineſs; and Mr. Henry Coventry, of his bedchamber, who had ſhewed ſo great abilities in his late negociation in Sweden; upon the naming of whom his majeſty ſaid, they were both very fit, and that he would think of no other: ſo that when all other particulars were adjuſted with reference to the treaty, the king without further conſulting it declared, that he intended to ſend thoſe two his ambaſſadors for the treaty, before either of them knew or thought of the employment; and when his majeſty told them of it, he bade them repair to the chancellor for their inſtructions. And this gave new thoughts of heart to the lord Arlington, who had deſigned himſelf and Sir Thomas Clifford, (who was newly made a privy-councellor and comptroller of the houſhold, upon the death of Sir Hugh Pollard,) for the performance of that ſervice, and thought himſelf the better qualified for it by his late Alliance in Holland, by his marriage with the daughter of Monſieur Bevarwert, a natural ſon of prince Maurice. And this diſappointment went very near him, though the other had not the leaſt thought that he had any ſuch thing in his heart, but adviſed it purely as the fitteſt perſons who could be thought of; and their abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this negociation. The Swediſh ambaſſadors, who were the only mediators, prepared likewiſe to go to the treaty, having agreed with the king, that if the treaty ſhould not produce a peace (of which they who hoped moſt were not confident)

confident) that crown would immediately declare for the king, and unite itſelf to his intereſt, both againſt the Dutch and the French; their Army at that time being held the beſt in Europe, under the command of General Wrangle, being near the States dominions; and for the better confirming them in that diſpoſition, the chancellor had brought the baron of Iſola to a conference with the Swediſh ambaſſador, and began that treaty between them, which was ſhortly after known by the ſtyle of the triple alliance, that was the firſt act that detached the Swedes from France, and for the preſent, the king himſelf found means to ſupply the crown of Sweden with a ſum of money for the ſupport of their army: all things being thus adjuſted, and the place of the treaty being on all hands agreed to be Breda, and notice being ſent from Paris that their ambaſſadors were departed from thence, the king thought himſelf as much concerned in the expedition, in reſpect of the ceſſation, which the French promiſed to obtain in the very entrance into the treaty, and it was now the month of May, and ſo his ambaſſadors were diſpatched and arrived there before the middle of that month, with an equipage worthy their maſter who ſent them.

There happened at this time an accident, that made a fatal breach into the chancellor's fortune, with a gap wide enough to let in all that ruin, which ſoon after was poured upon him. The earl of Southampton, the treaſurer, with whom he had an intire faſt friendſhip, and who, when they were together, had credit enough with the king and the board to prevent, at leaſt to defer any unreaſonable reſolution, was now ready to expire with the ſtone, a diſeaſe that had kept him in great pain many months; and for which he had ſent to Paris for a ſurgeon to be cut; but had

had deferred it too long, by the phyſicians not agreeing what the diſeaſe was, ſo that at laſt he grew too weak to apply that remedy. They who had with ſo much induſtry, and, as they thought, certainty, prevailed with the king to remove him from that office, had never ſince intermitted the purſuing the deſign, and perſuaded his majeſty that his ſervice had ſuffered exceedingly by his receding from his purpoſe, and did not think their triumph notorious enough if they ſuffered him to die in the office, inſomuch as when he grew ſo weak, that it is true he could not ſign any orders with his hand, which was four or five days before his death, they had again perſuaded the king to ſend for the ſtaff, but the chancellor again prevailed with him not to do ſo ungracious an act to a ſervant who had ſerved him and his father ſo long and ſo eminently; to ſo little purpoſe, as the raviſhing an office unſeaſonably, which muſt in five or ſix days fall into his hands, as it did within leſs time by his death. He was a perſon of extraordinary parts, of faculties very diſcerning, and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery, without the leaſt affectation of words, for he always ſpake beſt on the ſudden; in the beginning of the troubles he was looked upon amongſt thoſe lords who were leaſt inclined to the court, and ſo moſt acceptable to the people; he was in truth not obliged by the court, and thought himſelf oppreſſed by it, which his great ſpirit could not bear, and ſo he had for ſome years forborn to be much ſeen there, which was imputed to a habit of melancholy, to which he was much inclined, though it appeared more in his countenance than in his converſation, which to thoſe with whom he was acquainted was very chearful. The great friendſhip that had been between their fathers made many believe that there was a

confidence between the earl of Eſſex and him; which was true to that degree as could be between men of ſo different natures and underſtandings; and when they came to the parliament, in the year 1640 they appeared both unſatisfied with the prudence and politicks of the court, and were not reſerved in declaring it, when the great officers were called in queſtion for great tranſgreſſions, in their ſeveral adminiſtrations; but in the proſecution there was great difference in their paſſions, and their ends. The earl of Eſſex was a great lover of juſtice, and could not have been tempted to conſent to the oppreſſion of an innocent man; but in the diſcerning the ſeveral ſpecies of guilt, and in proportioning the degrees of puniſhment, to the degrees of guilt, he had no faculties nor meaſure of judging, nor was above the temptation of general prejudice; and it may be of particular diſobligations and reſentments, which proceeded from the weakneſs of his judgment, not the malice of his nature. The earl of Southampton was not only an exact obſerver of juſtice, but ſo clear ſighted a diſcerner of all the circumſtances which might diſguiſe it, that no falſe or fraudulent colour could impoſe upon him; and of ſo ſincere and impartial a judgment, that no prejudice to the perſon of any man, made him leſs awake to his cauſe, but believed that there is aliquid et in hoſtem nefas, and that a very ill man might be very unjuſtly dealt with; this difference of faculties divided them quickly in the progreſs of thoſe buſineſſes, in the beginning whereof they were both of one mind; they both thought the crown had committed great exceſſes in the exerciſe of its power, which the one thought could not be otherwiſe prevented, than by being deprived of it, the conſequence whereof the other

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too well underſtood, and that the abſolute taking away that power, that might do hurt, would take away ſome of that, which was neceſſary for the doing good, and that a monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental right, without ſuch a laſting wound to monarchy itſelf, that they, who have moſt ſhelter from it, and ſtand neareſt to it (the nobility) could not continue long in their native ſtrength, if the crown received a maim; which if the earl of Eſſex had comprehended, who ſet as great a price upon the nobility as any man living did; he could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own undoing, which the other knew was unavoidable if the king were undone. So they were both ſatisfied that the earl of Stafford had countenanced ſome high proceedings, which could not be ſupported by any rules of juſtice, tho' the policy of that kingdom, and the conſtant courſe obſerved in the government of Ireland might have excuſed and juſtified many of the high proceedings with which he was reproached, and they who had now the advantage ground, by being thought to be moſt ſolicitous for the liberty of the ſubject, and moſt vigilant that the ſame outrages might not be tranſplanted out of the other kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the ſtrongeſt influence upon the councils of England, as well as government of Ireland; then he had declared himſelf ſo averſe and irreconcilable to the ſedition and rebellion of the Scots, that the whole nation had contracted ſo great an animoſity againſt him, that leſs than his life could not ſecure them from the fears they had conceived of him, and this fury of theirs met with a full concurrence from thoſe of the Engliſh, who could not compaſs their own ends without

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their help, and this combination too ſoon drew the earl of Eſſex, who had none of their ends into their party, to ſatisfy his pride and his paſſion, in removing a man who ſeemed to have no regard for him, for the ſtories which were then made of the diſobligations from the earl of Stafford, towards the earl Clanricard, were without any foundation of truth.

The earl of Southampton, who had nothing of obligation, but ſomewhat of prejudice to ſome high acts of power which had been exerciſed by the earl of Stafford, was not unwilling that they ſhould be ſo far looked into and examined, as might raiſe more caution and apprehenſion in men of great authority of the conſequence of ſuch exceſſes; but when he diſcerned irregular ways entered into to puniſh thoſe irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill conſequences, and that they intended to compound one great crime out of ſeveral ſmaller treſpaſſes, and, to uſe their own ſtile, to complicate a treaſon out of miſdemeanours, and ſo take away his life for what he might be fined and impriſoned; he firſt diſſuaded and then abhored that exorbitance, and more abhored when he found it paſſionately and maliciouſly reſolved by a direct combination. From this time he and the earl of Eſſex were perfectly divided and ſeparated, and ſeldom afterwards concurred in the ſame opinion, but as he worthily and bravely ſtood in the gap in the defence of that great man's life, ſo he did afterwards oppoſe all thoſe invaſions, which were every day made by the Houſe of Commons, upon the rights of the crown, or the privileges of the peers, which the lords were willing to ſacrifice to the uſeful humour of the other; and by this means, whilſt moſt of the king's ſervants ſhifted themſelves with the conſpirators in promoting all things

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which were ungrateful to him, this lord, who had no relation to his ſervice, was looked upon as a courtier; and by the ſtrength of his reaſon, gave ſuch a check to their proceedings, that he became little leſs odious to them than the court itſelf, and ſo much the more odious, becauſe as he was ſuperior to their temptations, ſo his unqueſtionable integrity was out of their reach, and made him contemn their power as much as their malice. He had all the deteſtation imaginable of the civil war, and diſcerned the diſmal effects it would produce more than moſt other men; which made him do all he could to prevent it; but when it could not be avoided, he made no ſcruple how to diſpoſe of himſelf, but frankly declared for the king, who had a juſt ſenſe of the ſervice he had done him, and made him the chief of his privy-council and gentleman of his bedchamber, without the leaſt application or deſire of his, and when moſt of thoſe who were under both theſe relations had choſen, as much the ſtronger, the rebels ſide, and his receiving thoſe obligations at that preſent, was known to proceed more from his duty than his ambition. He had all the fidelity that God requires, and all the affection to the perſon of the king, that his duty ſuggeſted to him was due, without any reverence for, or compliance with his infirmities or weakneſs; which made him many times uneaſy to the king, eſpecially in all conſultations towards peace, in which he was always deſirous that his majeſty ſhould yield more than he was inclined to do. He was in his nature melancholic, and reſerved in his converſation, except towards thoſe with whom he was very well acquainted; with whom he was not only chearful, but, upon occaſion, light and pleaſant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch eaſe to himſelf; yet as no man had a quicker apprehenſion

henſion or ſolider judgment in buſineſs of all kinds, ſo, when it had a hopeful proſpect, no man could keep his mind longer bent, and take more pains in it. In the treaty at Uxbridge, which was a continued fatigue of twenty days he never ſlept four hours in a night, who had never uſed to allow himſelf leſs than ten; and at the end of the treaty was much more vigorous than in the beginning; which made the chancellor to tell the king, when they returned to Oxford, that if he would have the earl of Southampton in good health and good humour, he muſt give him good ſtore of buſineſs to do. His perſon was of a ſmall ſtature; his courage, as all his other faculties, was very great, having no ſign of fear or ſenſe of danger, when he was in a place where he ought to be found. When the king had withdrawn himſelf from Oxford in order to his eſcape to the Scotch army, and Fairfax had brought his army before the town; in ſome debate at the council-board, there being ſome mention of prince Rupert, with reference to his dignity, in a large degree above all the nobility, the earl of Southampton, who never uſed to ſpeak indecently, uſed ſome expreſſions, which being unfaithfully reported to the prince, his highneſs interpreted to be diſreſpective towards him; whereupon he ſent the lord Gerard to expoſtulate with him, to whom the earl, without any apology, related the words he had uſed, which being reported by him again to the prince, though they were not the ſame which he had been informed, yet he was not ſo well ſatisfied, but that he ſent the ſame lord to him again to tell him, that his highneſs expected other ſatisfaction from him, and expected to meet him with his ſword in his hand, and deſired it might be as ſoon as he could, leſt it might be prevented. The earl appointed the next morning, at a place well-

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known; and being asked what weapon he choſe, he ſaid that he had no horſe fit for ſuch a ſervice, nor knew where ſuddenly to get one, and that he knew himſelf too weak to cloſe with the prince; and therefore he hoped his highneſs would excuſe him if he made choice of ſuch weapons as he could beſt uſe, and therefore to fight on foot with a caſe of piſtols only, which the prince willingly conſented to; and without doubt they had met the next morning, the earl having choſen Sir George Villars for his ſecond, but that the lord Gerard's coming to the earl ſo often, with whom he had no acquaintance, had been ſo much obſerved that ſome of the lords who had been preſent at the debate at the board, and heard ſome replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill offices had been done, watched them both ſo narrowly, and cauſed the towngates to be ſhut, that they diſcovered enough notwithſtanding the denial of both parties, to prevent their meeting, and afterwards interpoſed, till a reconciliation was made, and the prince ever afterwards had a good reſpect for the earl.

After the murder of the king, the earl of Southampton remained in his own houſe without the leaſt application to thoſe powers, which had made themſelves ſo terrible, and which ſeemed to reſolve to root out the whole party, as well as the royal family, and would not receive a civility from any of them; and when Cromwell was near his houſe in the country, upon the marriage of his ſon in thoſe parts, and had a purpoſe to have made a viſit to him; upon a private notice thereof he immediately removed to another houſe at a greater diſtance. He ſent frequently ſome truſty perſon to the king with ſuch preſents of money as he could receive out of the fortune they had left him, which was ſcarce enough to ſupport him in

that retirement; and after the battle of Worceſter, when the rebels had ſet a price upon the king's head, and denounced the moſt terrible judgment, upon whomſoever and his poſterity, that ſhould preſume to give any ſhelter or aſſiſtance to Charles Stewart towards his eſcape; he ſent a faithful ſervant to all thoſe perſons who in reſpect of their fidelity and activity were moſt like to be truſted upon ſuch an occaſion, that they ſhould advertiſe the king, that he would moſt willingly receive him into his houſe, and provide a ſhip for his eſcape; and his majeſty received this advertiſement from him the day before he was ready to embark in a ſmall veſſel prepared for him in Suſſex, which his majeſty always remembred as a worthy teſtimony of his affection and courage in ſo general a conſternation; and the earl was uſed to ſay that after that miraculous eſcape, how diſmal ſoever the proſpect was, he had ſtill a confidence of his majeſty's reſtoration. His own natural diſpoſition inclined to melancholy, and his retirement from all converſation, in which he might have given ſome vent to his own thoughts, with the diſcontinuance of all thoſe bodily exerciſes and recreations, to which he had been accuſtomed, brought many diſeaſes upon him, which made his life leſs pleaſant to him, ſo that from the time of the king's abſence between the gout and the ſtone, he underwent great affliction, yet upon the happy return of his majeſty, he ſeemed to recover great vigour of mind, and undertook the charge of high treaſurer with much alacrity and induſtry; and as long as he had any hope to get a revenue ſettled proportionable to the expenſe of the crown, towards which, his intereſt, and authority, and council contributed very much, or to reduce the expence of the

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court within the limits of the revenue; but when he diſcerned that the laſt did and would ſtill make the former impoſſible, upon which he made as frequent and as lively repreſentations, as he thought himſelf obliged to do; and when he ſaw irregularities and exceſſes to abound, and to overflow all the banks, which ſhould reſtrain them; he grew more diſpirited and weary of that province, which expoſed him to the reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which ſupplied him not with authority to prevent them. And he had then withdrawn from the burthen which he infinitely deſired to be eaſed of; but out of conſcience of his duty to the king, who he knew would ſuffer in it; and that the people who knew his affections very well, and already opened their mouths wide againſt the licenſe of the court, would believe it worſe, and incurable, if he quitted the ſtation he was in; this, and this only prevailed with him ſtill to undergo that burthen, even when he knew that they, who enjoyed the benefit of it, were as weary that he ſhould be diſquieted with it. He was a man of great and exemplary virtue and piety, and very regular in his devotions, yet was not generally believed by the biſhops to have an affection keen enough for the government of the church, becauſe he was willing and deſirous that ſomewhat more might have been done to gratify the preſbyterians, than they thought juſt; but the truth is, he had a perfect deteſtation of all the preſbyterian principles, nor had ever had any converſation with their perſons, having during all thoſe wicked times ſtrictly obſerved the devotions preſcribed by the church of England, in the performance whereof he h d always an orthodox chaplain deprived of their eſtates by that government which diſpoſed of the church as well as of the ſtate. But it is very true, that upon the obſervation of the great power and

authority, which the preſbyterians uſurped, and were poſſeſſed of, even when Cromwell did all he could to diveſt them of it, and applied all his intereſt to oppreſs or ſuppreſs them, inſomuch as they did often give a check to, and divert many of his deſigns; he did believe that their numbers, and their credit had been much greater, than in truth it was, and then ſome perſons, who had credit with him, by being thought to have an equal averſion from them, perſuaded him to believe that they would be ſatisfied with very eaſy conceſſions, which would bring no prejudice or inconvenience to the church, and this imagination prevailed with him, and more with others, who loved them not, to wiſh that their might be ſome indulgence towards them. But that which had the ſtrongeſt influence upon him, and which made him leſs apprehenſive of the venom of any other ſect, was the extreme jealouſy he had of the power and malignity of the Roman catholics, whoſe behaviour from the time of the ſuppreſſion of the regal power, and more ſcandalouſly at and from the time of the murder of the king, had very much irreconciled him towards them; and he did believe that the king and the duke of York had a better opinion of their fidelity, and leſs jealouſy of their affections than they deſerved, and ſo thought their could not be too great a union of all other intereſts, to controul the exorbitance of that; and upon this argument with his private friends, he was more paſſionate than in any other. He had a marvellous zeal and affection for the royal family, inſomuch as the two ſons of the duke of York falling into diſtempers (of which they both ſhortly after died) very few days before his death, he was ſo marvellouſly affected with it, that many believed the trouble of it, or a preſage,

ſage of, that which might befall the kingdom by it, haſtened his death ſome hours; and in the agony of death the very morning he died, he ſent to know how they did, and ſeemed to receive ſome relief, when the meſſenger returned with the news, that they were both alive, and in ſome degree mended.

The next day after his death, which was about the end of May, the king called the chancellor into his cloſet, and the duke of York being only preſent, told him that he could think of no man fit to be treaſurer, and therefore reſolved, as he had long done, to put that office into commiſſion; and then asked who ſhould be commiſſioners. To which he anſwered, the buſineſs would be much better done by a ſingle officer, if he could think of a fit one, for commiſſioners never had, and never would do the buſineſs well. The duke of York ſaid that he believed it would be beſt done by commiſſion; it had been ſo managed during all the ill times, for from the beginning of the troubles there had been no treaſurer; and he had obſerved, and the king found the benefit of it: that tho' Sir William Compton was an extraordinary man, and better qualified than moſt men for that charge, yet ſince his deceaſe, that his majeſty had put the office of the ordnance under the government of commiſſioners, it was in much better order; and the king was better ſerved there than he had ever been, and he believed he would be ſo likewiſe in the office of the treaſury, if fit perſons were choſen for it, who might have nothing elſe to do; and the king ſeemed to be of the ſame mind. The chancellor replied, that he was very ſorry that they were both ſo much delighted with the function of com-

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miſſioners, which were more ſuitable to the modelling a commonwealth, than for the ſupport of monarchy; that during the late troubles, whilſt the parliament exerciſed the government, they reduced it as faſt as they could to the form of a common-wealth, and then no queſtion the putting the treaſury into the hands of commiſſioners was much more ſuitable to the reſt of the model, than could be under a ſingle perſon; beſides having no revenue of their own, but being to raiſe one according to their inventions, and proportionable to their own occaſions, it could never be well collected or ordered by old officers, who were obliged to forms which would not be agreeable to their neceſſary tranſactions, ſo that new miniſters were to be made for new employments, who might be obliged punctually to obſerve the new orders, without any ſuperiority over each other, but a joint obedience to the ſupreme authority; but when Cromwell aſſumed the entire government into his own hands, he cancelled all thoſe republican rules and forms, and appointed inferior perſons to ſeveral functions, and reſerved the whole diſpoſition to himſelf, and was his own high treaſurer; and it was well known that he reſolved, as ſoon as he ſhould be able to reduce things to the form he intended, to cancel all thoſe commiſſions, and inveſt ſingle perſons in the government of thoſe provinces. He ſaid he would not take upon him to ſay any thing of the office of the ordnance, where the commiſſioners were his friends, only he might ſay, that that kind of adminiſtration had not been yet long enough known to have a good judgment made of it, however that it was of ſo different a nature from the office of the treaſury, that no obſerva-

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tion of the one could be applied to the other. The ordnance was converſant only with ſmiths and carpenters, and other handy crafts-men, with whom all the tranſactions were; whereas the treaſury had much to do with the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom, muſt have often recourſe to the king himſelf for his particular directions to the privy-council for their aſſiſtance and advice to the judges, for their reſolutions in matters of difficulty; and if the miniſters of it were not of that quality and degree, that they may have free diſcourſe to all theſe, and find reſpect from them, his majeſty's ſervice would notoriouſly ſuffer; and that the white ſtaff itſelf in the hands of a perſon eſteemed, did more to the bringing ſeveral branches of the revenue, by the obedience and reverence all officers paid to it, than any orders from the commiſſioners could do; and that how mean an opinion ſoever ſome men had of the late excellent officer for that adminiſtration, his majeſty would find by experience, that the vaſt ſums of money which he had borrowed in thoſe late years, had been in a great meaſure procured on the general confidence all men had in the honour and juſtice of the treaſurer; and that the credit of commiſſioners would never be able to ſupply ſuch neceſſities. The king ſaid he was not at all of his opinion, and doubted not his buſineſs would be much better done by commiſſioners; and therefore he ſhould ſpeak to the nomination of thoſe, ſince he was ſure he could propoſe no ſingle perſon fit for it; to which the chancellor anſwered, that he thought it much harder to find a worthy man, who would be perſuaded to accept it, in the diſorder in which his affairs were, than a man who might be very fit for it; and that if that ſubject, who had the greateſt fortune in England, and the moſt general reputation would receive it, his majeſty

would

would be no looſer in confering it on ſuch a one; and till ſuch a one might be found, he might put it into commiſſion; but he ſaid he perceived well that he would not approve the old courſe in the choice of commiſſioners, who had always been, the keeper of the great ſeal, and the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and two other of the principal perſons of the council; beſides the chancellor of the exchequer, who uſed to be the ſole perſon of the quorum. The king nor duke ſeemed to like any of theſe, and the chancellor plainly diſcerned from the beginning, that they were reſolved upon the perſons, tho' his opinion was aſked, and the king ſaid he would chuſe ſuch perſons whether privy-councellors or not, who might have nothing elſe to do, and were rough and ill natured men not to be moved with civilities or importunities in the payment of money, but apply it to his preſent neceſſities, till ſome new ſupplies might be gotten for the payment of thoſe debts, which were firſt neceſſary to be paid; that he, the chancellor, had ſo much buſineſs already upon his hands, that he could not attend this other; and the ſecretaries had enough to do; ſo he would have none of thoſe: and then he named Sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the council, and comptroller of the houſe, and Sir William Coventry; and ſaid he did not think there ſhould be many; and the duke then named Sir Joſeph Duncombe, as a man of whom he had heard well; and every body knew he was intimate with Sir William Coventry. The king ſaid he thought they three would be enough, and that a greater number would but make the diſpatch of all buſineſs the more ſlow. The chancellor ſaid he doubted thoſe perſons would not have credit and authority enough to go thro' the neceſſary affairs

of

of that province, that for his own part he was not desirous to meddle in it; he had indeed too much business to do, that he had no exception to the three persons named, but that he thought them not known or esteemed enough for that employment; and that it would be very incongruous to bring Sir Joseph Duncombe, who was a private country gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with business of that nature, to sit in equal authority with privy councellors; and in affairs which would be often debated at the council table, where he could not be present; and he put his majesty in mind that he must put the lord Ashley out of his office of chancellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him commissioner of the treasury, and of the quorum; and concluded that if he did not name that gentleman or some other person that might give some lustre to the others, the work would not be done as it ought to be; for many persons would be sometimes obliged to attend upon the treasury, who would not think those gentlemen enough superior to them, how qualify'd soever. The king said he could easily provide against the exception to Sir Joseph Duncombe, by making him a privy-councellor, and he did not care if he added the general to them: the lord Ashley gave him some thought, and he said, enough to make it manifest, that he thought him not fit to be amongst them, yet he knew not how to put him out of his place, but gave directions for preparing the commission for the treasury, to the persons named before, and made the lord Ashley one of the commissioners, and a major part to make a quorum, which would quickly bring the government of the whole business into the hands of those three

who were deſigned for it, and Aſhley rather choſe to be degraded, than to diſpute it.

The king expected that as ſoon as the embaſſadors ſhould meet at the Hague, a ceſſation would be the firſt thing that would be agreed upon, and the French embaſſadors did in the firſt place propoſe it in ſuch a manner as made it evident that they depended upon it as a thing reſolved upon, and their maſter had with their conſent diſmiſſed his own fleet, and theirs was yet in their ports; nor did the Dutch ſeem to refuſe it, but anſwered, that the adjuſting all things in order to a ceſſation, would require as much time, as would ſerve to finiſh the treaty, conſidering all material points were upon the matter already ſtated and agreed upon, the king having already choſen the alternative; and notwithſtanding all the earneſtneſs uſed by the French embaſſadors no other anſwer could be obtained as to a ceſſation, which together with the ſupercilious behaviour of the commiſſioners from Holland, made it apparent that they had no other mind at that time to peace, than as they were compelled to it by France, that was impatient to have it concluded; they would not hear any mention for the redelivery of Poleroon, which they ſaid the king of France had promiſed ſhould not be demanded, and as little for any recompenſe in money, nor would they ſuffer the merchant deputies from the Engliſh company to go to Amſterdam to confer with the Eaſt-India company there, for any compoſition. It quickly appeared that they had revenge in their hearts for their laſt years affront and damage at the Uly, and De Witt had often ſaid, that before any peace they would leave ſome ſuch mark of their having been upon the Engliſh coaſt, as the Engliſh had left of their having been upon that of Holland.

After

After the treaty was entered into about the beginning of June, De Ruiter came with the fleet out of the Weelings, and joining with the reſt from the Texell, ſailed for the coaſt of England; and having a fair wind ſtood for the river of Thames, which put the county of Kent into ſuch an alarm, that all near the ſea left their houſes, and fled into the country. The earl of Winchelſea, who was lord lieutenant of the county, was at that time embaſſador at Conſtantinople, and the deputy lieutenants had all equal authority, ſo that no man had power to command in that large county, and in ſo general a diſtraction. Hereupon the king ſent down lieutenant general Middleton, with commiſſion to draw all the train'd-bands together, and to command all the forces that could be raiſed and he immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed and quickly drew all the train'd-bands of horſe and foot to Rocheſter, and other troops reſorted to him from the neighbour counties, all the people expreſſing a great alacrity in being commanded by him. There had been much diſcourſe all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerneſs for the defence of the river, and the king had made two journies thither in the winter, and had given ſuch orders to the commiſſioners of the ordnance, for the overſeeing and finiſhing the fortification, that every body believed that work done; it having been the principal defence and proviſion directed and depended on (as hath been ſaid before) when the reſolution had been taken for the ſtanding only upon the defence for this ſummer; but whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done, there were a company or two of very good ſoldiers there, under excellent officers, but the fortifications ſo weak and unfiniſhed, and all other proviſions ſo intirely wanting,

that the Dutch fleet no ſooner approached within a diſtance, but with their cannon they beat all their works flat, and drove the men from the ground, which as ſoon as they had done, with their boats they landed men, and ſeemed reſolved to fortify and keep it. This put the country into a flame, and the news of it exceedingly diſturbed the king, he knew the conſequence of the place, and how eaſily it might have been ſecured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected, and with what loſs ſoever, it muſt be preſently recovered out of thoſe hands. The general was immediately ordered to march to Chatham, for the ſecuring of the navy with ſuch troops of horſe and foot as could be preſently drawn together out of the guards, and from the neighbour counties, and the city appeared very forward to ſend ſuch regiments of their train'd bands, as ſhould be required. When the general came to Chatham he found Middleton in ſo good a poſture, and ſo good a body of men, that he had no apprehenſion of any attempt the Dutch could make at land, and he wrote very chearful and confident letters to the king and the duke, that, if the enemy ſhould make any attempt which he believed they durſt not do, they would repent it; that he had put a chain over the river, which would hinder them from coming up, and if they ſhould venture to land any where, he would quickly beat them to their ſhips, as no doubt he had been very well able to have done

There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wiſe to think of it, their buſineſs was an element they had more confidence in, and more power upon, they had good intelligence how looſely all things were left in the river, and therefore as ſoon as the tide came to help them,

them, they ſtood full up the river, without any conſideration of the chain, which their ſhips immediately broke in pieces, and paſſed without the leaſt pauſe, there being no device to be made that can obſtruct ſuch an enterpriſe, or that, which was made, was ſo weak, that it was of no ſignification but to raiſe an unſeaſonable confidence in unskilful men, that being diſappointed muſt encreaſe the confuſion, as it did; for all men were ſo confounded to ſee the Dutch fleet advance over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of braſs, that they knew not what they were to do. The general was of a conſtitution and temper ſo void of fear, that there could appear no ſigns of diſtraction in him, yet it was plain enough that he knew not what orders to give. There were two or three ſhips of the royal navy negligently, if not treacherouſly left in the river, which might have been very eaſily drawn into ſafety, and could be of no imaginable uſe in the place where they then were; into one of thoſe the general put himſelf, and invited the young gentlemen, who were voluntiers, to accompany him, which they readily did in great numbers, only with pikes in their hands; but ſome of his friends whiſpered to him, how unadviſed that reſolution was, and how deſperate without probability of ſucceſs; the whole fleet of the enemy approaching as faſt as the tide would enable them, and ſo he was prevailed with to put himſelf again on ſhore, which except he had done, both himſelf and two or three hundred gentlemen of the nobility, and prime gentry of the kingdom had inevitably periſhed, for all thoſe ſhips, and ſome merchantmen laden and ready to put to ſea, were preſently in a flame; the Dutch knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them; the gentry ſtanding

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ing upon the ſhore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this miſchief; the people of Chatham which is naturally an army of ſeamen, and officers of the navy, who might and ought to have ſecured all thoſe ſhips, which they had time enough to have done, were in deſtraction; their chief officers having applied, all thoſe boats and lighter veſſels, which ſhould have towed up their ſhips, to carry away their own goods and houſhold ſtuff, and gave what they left behind for loſt, and which doubtleſs if the Dutch had proſecuted the preſent advantage they had with that circumſpection and courage that was neceſſary, they might have fired the royal navy at Chatham, and taken or deſtroy'd all the ſhips which lay higher in the river, and ſo fully revenged themſelves for what they had ſuffered at the Uly; but they thought they had done enough, and ſo made uſe of the ebb to carry them back again; but the noiſe of this and the flame of the ſhips which were burnt, made it eaſily believed in the city of London, that the enemy had done all that they conceived they might have done. They thought that they were landed in many places, and that their fleet was come up as far as Greenwich, nor was the confuſion there greater than it was in the court itſelf, where they, who had moſt advanced the war, and reproached all them, who had been, or were thought to be againſt it, as men who had no public ſpirits, and were not ſolicitous for the honour and glory of the nation, and who had never ſpoken of the Dutch, but with ſcorn and contempt, as a nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with, were now the moſt dejected men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at thoſe who had adviſed the king to enter into that war, which had already conſumed ſo many gallant men, and would probably ruin the king-

kingdom, and wiſhed that a peace as the only hope, were made upon any terms; in a word, the diſtraction and conſternation was ſo great in court and city, as if the Dutch had not been only maſters of the river, but had really landed an army of one hundred thouſand men. They who remember that conjuncture, and were then preſent in the galleries and privy lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can eaſily call to mind many inſtances of ſuch wild deſpair, and even ridiculous apprehenſions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the leaſt mention of them ſhould remain; and if the king's and duke's perſonal compoſure, had not reſtrained men from expreſſing their fears, there wanted not ſome who would have adviſed them to have left the city; and there was a lord who would be thought one of the greateſt ſoldiers in Europe, to whom the cuſtody of the Tower was committed, who lodging there only one night declared that it was not tenable, and deſired not to be charged with it, and thereupon many who had carried their money and goods thither removed them from thence, that they might be further from the river. Nor did this unreaſonable diſtemper paſs away, when it was known that the Dutch fleet had not only left the river, but had taken away all their men from Sheerneſs, which was a manifeſtation very ſufficient that they had no deſign upon the land; but there remained ſtill ſuch a chagrin in the minds of many as if they would return again, in which they were confirmed ſtill that they were upon the coaſts, and gave the ſame alarm now to Eſſex and Suffolk, as they had done to Kent, not without a ſhew as if they meant to attempt Harwich and Longham point, which drew all the train'd-

bands

bands of thoſe counties to the ſea ſide, and the duke of York went thither to conduct them, if there ſhould be occaſion.

In this perplexity the king was not at eaſe, and the leſs that every man took upon him to diſcourſe to him of the diſtemper of the people generally over the kingdom; and to give him council what was to be done: and ſome men had adviſed him to call the parliament, which at the laſt ſeſſion had been prorogued to the twentieth of October, and it was now the middle of June; and ſurely moſt diſcerning men thought ſuch a conjuncture ſo unſeaſonable for the council of a parliament, that if it had been then ſitting, the moſt wholeſome advice that could be given, would be to ſeperate them, till that occaſion ſhould be over, which could be beſt provided for by a more contracted council. However not knowing elſe what to do, diſpoſed the king to incline to that remedy, and it being a current opinion, or rather an unqueſtioned certainty, that upon a prorogation, the parliament cannot be convened before the day, tho' upon an adjourment it may; they had brought Mr. Prynn privately to the king to ſatisfy him that upon an extraordinary occaſion he might do it, and his judgment which in all other caſes he did enough undervalue, very much confirmed in him what he had a mind to. In the beginning of the ſummer when he had reſolved to have no fleet at ſea, there were many reaſons, which induced him to increaſe his forces at land, and that he might do it without jealouſy of the people he gave commiſſion to three or four perſons of the nobility of great fortunes and good names to raiſe regiments of foot; and to others for troops of horſe, which raiſed one at their own charge, and with wonderful expedition, and upon their firſt muſters they all received

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one months pay; of thoſe levies ſome were ſent to repreſs Inverneſs, and extraordinary care was taken for the better advancement of theſe fortifications, and others were diſpoſed to other ports upon the coaſt, but it was in view that upon the expiration of that month, there muſt be new pay provided for thoſe regiments and troops. Then the train-bands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one month, which was as long as the law required; and now required, or were ſaid to require, to be relieved or diſmiſſed, or that they might receive pay. There were diſcontents and emulations upon command, and they who had uſually profeſſed that they would willingly ſerve the king in the offices of corporals or ſerjeants, whatever command they formerly had, now diſputed all the punctilios, and would not receive orders from any, who had been formerly in inferior office; and all thoſe waywardneſſes were brought to the king, as matters of the higheſt conſequence, who found difficulty enough in determining points of more importance. They who for their own private deſigns deſired that the parliament might meet, and cared not in what humour they met, urged the king very importunately, that he would iſſue out a proclamation to ſummon them as the only expedient to give himſelf eaſe, and to provide for all that was to be done; and his majeſty was moſt inclined to it, and in truth reſolved it, tho' knowing that it was contrary to the ſenſe of many, he reſolved to debate it at the council, and there told them, that they all ſaw the ſtreights he was in, the inſolence of the enemy, and the general diſtemper of the nation, which made it manifeſt that it was neceſſary for him to have an army, that might be ready againſt any thing that

might fall out; that he had no money, nor knew not where to get any, nor could imagine any other way to provide againſt the miſchiefs which were in view than by calling the parliament to come together, of which or any other expedient he was willing to receive their advice, expreſſing ſo much of his own ſenſe, that it was plain enough, that he thought that remedy the beſt that could be applied. Three or four of thoſe who ſate at the lower end of the board, and who were well enough to have given the council, and to be induſtrious that it might be followed, enlarged themſelves in the debate, that the ſoldiers could not be kept together without money, and they could not adviſe any other way to get money, but by the convening the parliament, which they were confident might juſtly and regularly be done; and they deſired that they, who were of another opinion, would propoſe ſome other way how the king might get money.

The chancellor diſcerned the matter was already concluded, what advice ſoever ſhould be given, and that the three new commiſſioners of the treaſury, ſince they could find no way to procure money, had been very importunate with the king to try that expedient; and the more becauſe they well knew that he was againſt it, he having not been at all reſerved upon ſeveral occaſions in private diſcourſes when they were preſent to give many reaſons againſt it. And he knew as well that they would gladly make uſe of any expreſſions, which might fall from him when the remembrance might be applied to his prejudice; yet his natural unwarineſs in ſuch caſes with reference to himſelf, when he thought his majeſty's ſervice concerned, to which he did really believe the preſent advice would produce much prejudice, prevailed with him to

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diſſuade it. He ſaid he knew well upon what diſadvantage he ſpake, and how unpopular a thing it was to ſpeak againſt the convening the parliament in thoſe ſtreights, which ſeemed to be capable of no other remedy; yet ſince he thought neither the remedy proper to the diſeaſe, nor that it could be applied in time, he could not concur with thoſe who adviſed it; that moſt men, who had any knowledge in the law, did confeſs that when the parliament ſtood prorogued to a certain day, the convening them upon a ſooner day was very doubtful, and to him upon all the diſquiſitions he could make, it was very clear that it could not be done; and therefore he deſired the judges might be conſulted in that point before any reſolution ſhould be taken; that the temper of both houſes was well known, and that it could not but be preſumed that when they came together, the firſt debate they would fall upon, would be of the manner of their coming together, and whether they were in a capacity to act; and he doubted there would be very few, who would be forward to paſs an act in a ſeaſon, when the validity of it might be queſtioned by thoſe, who had no mind to pay any obedience to it; and then if their meeting were to confer together upon all occurrences, and they might preſume of liberty to ſay what they had a mind to ſay, without power to conclude any thing, it was well worth the conſidering, whither in ſuch a general diſtemper ſuch an aſſembly might not interrupt all other conſultations and expedients, and yet propoſe none, and ſo increaſe the confuſion. If the neceſſities were ſo urgent, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that a parliament ſhould be convened, and that which ſtood prorogued, could not lawfully reaſſemble till the twentieth of October as he was confident it could not, there was

no queſtion to be made, but that the king might lawfully by his proclamation preſently diſſolve the prorogued parliament, and ſend out his writs to have a new parliament, which might regularly meet before the prorogued parliament could come together; and many of the council were of opinion that it would more conduce to his majeſty's ſervice, to diſſolve the one, and to call another parliament. This advice they believed no man had the courage to make, and were ſorry to find ſo many of the opinion, which they had rather ſhould have appeared to be ſingle. Many very warmly oppoſed this expedient, magnified the affections and inclinations of both houſes, and tho' there had appeared ſome ill humour at their laſt being together, and averſion to give any money at preſent, yet in the main their affections were very right for church and ſtate, and that the king was never to hope to ſee a parliament better conſtituted for his ſervice, or ſo many of the members at his diſpoſal; but that he muſt expect that the preſbyterians would be choſen in all places, and that they who were moſt eminent now, for oppoſing all that he deſired, would be choſen; and all they who were moſt zealous for his ſervice would be carefully excluded; which was a fancy, that ſunk very deep in the minds of the biſhops, tho' their beſt friends thought them like to find more friends and a ſtronger ſupport in any, than they would have in this parliament. But the king quickly declared his confidence in the parliament that was prorogued and his reſolution not to diſſolve it, which put an end to that debate; and the other was again reſumed, what the king was to do towards the raiſing of money; or how he ſhould be able to maintain the army, if he ſhould defer calling the parliament, till the day upon which they

they were to assemble by the prorogation, and all men to restrain their discourse to that point.

The old argument that there could be no other way found out, was renewed, and urged with more earnestness and confidence; and that they who were against it, might be obliged to offer their advice, what other course should be taken, and this was often demanded in a manner not usual in that place, as a reproach to these persons. His majesty himself with some quickness was pleased to ask the chancellor what he did advise, to which he replied, that if in truth what was proposed was in the nature of it not practicable, or being practised could not attain the effect proposed, it ought to be laid aside, that men might unbiassed apply their thoughts to find out some other expedient; that he thought it very clear, that the parliament could not assemble, tho' the proclamation should issue out that very hour within less than twenty days, and that if they were willing and believed themselves lawfully qualified to grant a supply of money, all men knew the formality of that transaction would require so much time, that money could not be raised time enough to raise an army, or to maintain that part of it that was raised, to prevent the landing of an enemy that was already upon the coast; and (as many thought or seemed to think) ready every day to make their descent; and yet the sending out a proclamation for reassembling the parliament would inevitably put an end to all other councils. That for his part he did believe that the Dutch had already satisfied themselves in the affront they had already given, and could not be in any condition to pursue it, or have men enough on board to make a descent without the king's having notice of it; and that the

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Dutch without a conjunction with the French, had not ſtrength for ſuch an undertaking; and that they had no ſuch purpoſe, his majeſty had all the aſſurance poſſible, and that their fleet was gone far from the coaſt of England; and his majeſty had reaſon to believe that the preſent treaty would put an end to this war in a ſhort time, tho' the power and artifice of De Witt had prevented a ceſſation; however for the preſent ſupport of thoſe troops, which were neceſſary to guard the coaſts, ſince money could not be found for their preſent conſtant pay, without which free quarter could not be avoided, the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid the laſt evil would be to write letters to the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of thoſe counties where the troops were obliged to remain; that they would cauſe proviſions of all kinds to be brought into thoſe quarters, that ſo the ſoldiers may not be compelled to ſtraggle abroad to provide their own victuals, which would end in the worſt kind of free quarter; and that the like letters might be written to the neighbour counties, wherein no ſoldiers were quartered, to raiſe money by way of contribution or loan, which ſhould be abated out of the next impoſitions, that ſo the troops might be enabled to ſtay and continue in the poſts where they were for defence of the kingdom in which thoſe other counties had their ſhare in the benefit, and without which they muſt themſelves be expoſed to the diſorder of the ſoldiers, and poſſibly to the invaſion of the enemy. It is very probable that in the earneſtneſs of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, he might uſe that expreſſion (which was afterwards objected againſt him) of raiſing contribution, as had been in the late civil war; whatever it was

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he ſaid, it was evident at the time that ſome men were well pleaſed with it, as ſomewhat they meant to make uſe of hereafter, in which his innocence made him leſs concerned. The concluſion was, tho' many of the lords ſpake againſt it, and much the major part thought it not counſelable that a proclamation ſhould forthwith iſſue out to require all the members of parliament to meet upon a day appointed by the beginning of Auguſt, to conſult upon the great affairs of the kingdom, and this proclamation was preſently iſſued accordingly.

All this time the treaty proceeded at Breda as faſt as the inſolent humour of the Dutch would ſuffer it; the French king declared himſelf much offended with their proceedings at ſea, and his embaſſadors ſpake ſo loud, that the States gave order to their deputies to bring the treaty to a concluſion, and ſent ſuch orders to Du Ruyter, that there was no more hoſtility of any moment, only the fleet remained at ſea, that it might appear they were maſters of it; it cannot be denied that the French embaſſadors, except to what referred to Poleroone, behaved themſelves as candidly as could be wiſhed; and it is probable, that the ſame reaſon, which moved the French to uſe all poſſible diligence to bring the treaty to an end, prevailed likewiſe with the Dutch to uſe all the delays they could, that it might be prolonged: tho' there was no war declared, it had been long notorious that Flanders would be invaded, and it was as notorious that there was no proviſion made there towards a reſiſtance or defence. The marquis of Caſtle-Rodrigo, who came governor there with a great reputation, not making good the expectation in the ſagacity he was famed for, nor offered at any levies of men, or mending fortifications, until the French army was upon the borders; then he ſent into England

land to preſs the king to aſſiſt him with an army of horſe and foot, and it eaſily appeared the nation would gladly have engaged in that war, not being willing that Flanders ſhould be in the poſſeſſion of France. But the king was engaged not to give any aſſiſtance to the enemies of France, until the treaty ſhould be ended, which yet it was not; however he ſuffered the earl of Caſtlehaven under pretence of recruiting a regiment in Flanders, which he had formerly, to raiſe a body of one thouſand foot, which he quickly tranſported to Oſtend; the king was impatient to march, and yet the treaty might be firſt concluded, that both himſelf and the king of England might be at liberty to enter into ſuch an alliance, as they ſhould think proper for their intereſt; and the Dutch, who had no mind that the expedition ſhould be proſecuted, and as much feared the conſequence of ſuch an alliance, tho' they were not wiſe enough to conſider the right means to prevent it, deſired that the treaty might not be concluded till the winter drew nearer. But the French quickly put an end to that their hope by marching into the heart of Flanders, and ſo giving them new matter for their preſent conſultations, not without intimation, that if they would not finiſh the treaty, that king would conclude for what concerned himſelf, and this put an end to it; yet there were ſome alterations of ſmall importance in ſome articles of the former treaty, beſides that of Poleroone, which the embaſſadors would not conſent to without further knowledge of the king's diſpleaſure, and ſo one of them (Mr. Henry Coventry) came to attend his majeſty to give him an account of all particulars, and receive his own final determination. The king in the firſt place ſent for the Eaſt-India company, and let them know that the Dutch would not conſent to the former article for the re-

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delivery of Poleroon, nor give any recompenſe for it, and that he was reſolved not to depart from them, and ſo releaſe their right without their conſent, and therefore that they ſhould conſider what would be for their good. They anſwered, that they thought a peace to be ſo neceſſary for the kingdom, that they would not that any particular intereſt of theirs ſhould give any interuption to it; and they acknowledged that, if the war continued, they ſhould in many reſpects be greater loſers, than the re-delivery of Poleroon would repair; and that they would gladly ſacrifice that pretence to the publick peace. Upon which the embaſſador made his report of all the particulars which were conſented to on both ſides in the treaty, and what remained yet in ſuſpenſe, and made anſwer to all queſtions which any of the council thought fit to ask: and the king requiring him to deliver his own opinion upon his obſervation, and whether he believed, that if his majeſty ſhould poſitively inſiſt upon what they had hitherto refuſed to conſent to, the Dutch would chuſe to continue the war, and whether the French would join with them in it, he anſwered that it was very evident, that the Dutch did not at preſent deſire the peace, otherwiſe than to comply with France, and for fear of it, and that France was obliged not to abandon them in the point of Poleroon, which the other would never part with, nor give any recompenſe for, tho' the French embaſſadors had uſed all the arguments to perſuade them to it; but if that were agreed, he was confident they would be compelled to conſent to whatſoever was elſe of moment, and that the French had uſed ſome threatening expreſſions upon ſome violent propoſitions made by the Dane, which they thought proceeded from the inſtigation of Holland; and that at his coming away the French embaſſadors had

uſed great freedom with him, and adviſed in what particulars, which were yet unagreed, they wiſhed his majeſty would not conſent, and in which they could not ſerve him; but believed a time would come, in which he would be prepared for thoſe condeſcenſions: in other particulars he ſhould poſitively inſiſt at leaſt with ſome little variation of expreſſion, in which he expreſſed both his own and the opinion of the other embaſſador. And the whole being in this manner clearly ſtated, the king required all the lords ſeverally to deliver their judgement what he was to do. And every man did deliver his opinion in more or fewer words, and it may be truly ſaid that tho' one or two adorned their paſſion with ſome expreſſions of indignation againſt the Dutch for their preſumption, and as if he did believe that the parliament would concur with the king, in all things which might vindicate his honour from their inſolent demands, the advice was upon the matter unanimous, that the embaſſador ſhould immediately return, and conclude the peace upon thoſe conditions, which were ſtated at the board. And he did preſently return; and all matters were within few days after his arrival adjuſted, and put into proper miniſterial hands for ingroſſment; and all forms and circumſtances agreed upon for the proclamation of the peace, and the day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and ſuch forms of paſſes as ſhould be given on all ſides for merchant ſhips, which would be impatient for trade, before the days could be expired, in which all ſhips of war ſhould be obliged to take notice that the peace was proclaimed. All this was done before the day of the parliaments convening, upon the king's proclamation, ſo that here being now no uſe of an army, and reaſon enough

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ſo diſband thoſe regiments which had been raiſed towards it, his majeſty thought it not reaſonable that they ſhould enter upon the debate of any buſineſs but be continued under the former prorogation to the day appointed, and in this there appeared not one perſon of a different opinion. And ſo upon the day the king went to the houſe, and told them that ſince the condition of his affairs was not ſo full of difficulty, as it had been when he ſent out his proclamation; and ſince many were of opinion that there might doubts ariſe upon the regularity of their meeting, he was content to diſmiſs them till the twentieth of October, and ſo they ſeperated without any debate.

The public was no ſooner entered into this repoſe, than the ſtorm begun to ariſe, that deſtroyed all the proſperity, ruined the fortune, and ſhipwrecked all the hopes of the chancellor, who had been the principal inſtrument in providing that repoſe. The parliament that had been ſo unſeaſonably called together from their buſineſs and recreations in a ſeaſon of the year that they moſt deſired to be vacant, were not pleaſed to be ſo ſoon diſmiſſed; and very great pains were taken by thoſe, who were thought to be able to do him the leaſt harm, becauſe they were known to be his enemies, to perſuade the members of parliament, that it was the chancellor only, who had hindered their continuing together; and that he had adviſed the king to diſſolve them, which exceedingly inflamed them, and Sir William Coventry was ſo far from being reſerved in his malice, that the very day that the parliament was diſmiſſed, after he had incenſed them againſt the chancellor, in the preſence of ſix or ſeven of the members, who were not all of the ſame mind, he declared that if at their next meeting which would be in

little more than two months, they had a mind to remove the chancellor from the court, they ſhould eaſily bring it to paſs. Of all which he had quickly information, and had ſeveral other advertiſements from perſons of honour that there was a ſtrong combination entered into againſt him, and mentioned ſome particulars to have been told the king concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his majeſty. All which particulars being without any colour or ground of truth, he believed meer inventions (tho' not from thoſe who informed him) only to amuſe him, yet he took an opportunity to acquaint the king with it, who with the ſame openneſs he had always uſed, conferred with him about his preſent buſineſs, but only of the buſineſs. He beſought his majeſty to let him know whether he had received any information that he had done or ſaid ſuch and ſuch things, which he made appear to him to be in themſelves ſo incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his majeſty's power to believe it. To which the king anſwered that nobody had told him any ſuch thing. To which the other reply'd that he did really think they had not, tho' he knew that they had bragged they had done ſo, and thereby incenſed his majeſty againſt him, which they deſired ſhould be generally believed. The truth is, the chancellor was guilty of that himſelf, which he had uſed to accuſe the archbiſhop Laud of, that he was too proud of a good conſcience. He knew his own innocence, and had no kind of apprehenſion of being publickly charged with any crime. He knew well he had many enemies who had credit with the king: and that they did him all the ill offices they could; and he knew that the ladies power and credit increaſed, and that ſhe deſired nothing more than to remove him from

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his majeſty's confidence, in which he never thought her to blame, ſince ſhe well knew that he employed all the credit he had to remove her from the court. But he thought himſelf very ſecure in the king's juſtice. And tho' his kindneſs was much leſſened, he was confident his majeſty would protect him from being oppreſſed, ſince he knew his integrity: and never ſuſpected that he would conſent to his ruin. He was in truth weary of the condition he was in, and had in the laſt year undergone much mortification, and deſired nothing more than to be diveſted of all other truſts and employments than what concerned the chancery only, in which he could have no rival, and in the adminiſtration whereof he had not heard of any complaint. And this he thought might have ſatisfied all parties, and had ſometimes deſired the king that he might retire from all other buſineſs than that of the judicatory, for he plainly diſcerned he was not able to contend with other ſtruggles.

I cannot avoid in this place mentioning an accident that fell out in this time and enlarge upon all the circumſtances thereof, which might be otherwiſe paſſed over, but that it had an immediate influence upon the fate of the perſon, who was ſo near his fall. The king had been very much offended with the duke of Buckingham, who had behaved himſelf much worſe towards him, than could be expected from his obligations and diſcretion, and had been in truth the original cauſe of all the ill humour which had been in both houſes of parliament in the laſt ſeſſion; after the end of which he went into the country, without taking leave of the king, and in ſeveral places ſpake with greater licenſe of the court and government, and of the perſon of the king, than any other perſon

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preſumed to do, of all which his majeſty had intelligence and information; and was at that time without doubt more offended with him than with any man in England; and had really great provocation to jealouſy of his fidelity, as well of his reſpect and affection. The lord Arlington, as ſecretary of ſtate, had received ſeveral informations of dangerous words ſpoken by him againſt the king; and of his correſpondencies with perſons the moſt ſuſpected for ſedicious inclinations; the duke having made himſelf very popular amongſt the levellers, and amongſt them who clamoured for liberty of conſcience, which pretence he ſeemed very much to cheriſh. The king was very much awakened to be jealous of him, beſides his behaviour in the parliament, by ſome information, he received from his own ſervants. There was one Braithwayte, a citizen, who had been a great confident of Cromwell's, and of the council of ſtate: a man of parts, and looked upon as having a greater intereſt with the diſcontented party than any man in the city. Upon the king's return, this man fled beyond the ſeas, and after near a years ſtay there came again to London, but remained there as incognito, came not upon the exchange, nor was ſeen in public, and returned again into Holland; and ſo made frequent journeys backwards and forwards for ſeveral months, and then came and reſided publicly in the city. This being taken notice of by Sir Richard Browne, who was major general of the city, upon whoſe vigilence the king very much and very juſtly depended; and the man being well known to him, he had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till he underſtood he was a ſervant to the duke of Buckingham, and in great truſt with him, as he was, for the duke had committed the whole managing of his eſtate to him, and

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upon his recommendation, had received many other inferior ſervants to be employed under him, all of the ſame leaven with him, and notorious for their diſaffection to the church and ſtate. The major general being one day to give the king an account of ſome buſineſs, told him likewiſe of this man, as one as worthy to be ſuſpected for all diſloyal purpoſes, and as like to bring them to paſs, as any man of that condition in England, and ſeemed to wonder that the duke would entertain ſuch a perſon in his ſervice. At that time the duke had by his diligence and thoſe faculties towards mirth, in which he excelled, made himſelf very exceptable to the king, tho' many wondered that he could be ſo, conſidering what the king himſelf knew of him, inſomuch that his majeſty told him what he had been informed of his ſteward, and how much he ſuffered in his reputation for entertaining ſuch ſervants. The duke received the animadverſion with all poſſible ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of the obligation, and then enlarged upon the commendation of the man, of his great abilities and benefit he received by his ſervice, and beſought his majeſty that he would vouchſafe to hear him; for he believed he would give an account of the ſtate of the city, and of many particulars which related to his majeſty's ſervice better than moſt men could do. And the king ſhortly after ſupping at the duke's houſe, he found an opportunity to preſent Mr. Braithwayte to him, who was a man of a very good aſpect, which that people uſed not to have, and of notable inſinuation. He made the king a narration of the whole courſe of his life, in which he did not endeavour to make himſelf appear a better man than he had been reported to be, which kind of ingenuity, as men call it, is a wonderful approach towards

towards being believed. And he related by what degrees, and what method of conviction he had explicated himſelf from all thoſe ill principles, in which he had been entangled; and that it had been a principal motive to him to embrace the opportunity of ſerving the duke, that he might totally retire from that company and converſation, to which he had been moſt accuſtomed; and that he thought he had ſo much credit with the chief of them that they could never enter into any active combination, but he ſhould have notice of it, and aſſured his majeſty that no things ſhould paſs of moment amongſt thet people, but his majeſty ſhould ever have very ſeaſonable information of it, and that he would always ſerve him with great fidelity. In fine, the king was well ſatisfied with his diſcourſe, and often afterwards upon the like opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well diſpoſed to do him any ſervice.

During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in which the duke behaved ſo diſreſpectfully to the king, this man found an opportunity to get acceſs to his majeſty which he was willing to give him; when he ſaid he thought it his duty, and according to his obligation, to give his maſter an account of what he had lately obſerved, and of his own reſolutions; he told him that his lord was of late very much altered, and was fallen into the acquaintance and converſation of ſome men of very mean condition, but of very deſperate intentions, with whom he uſed to meet at unſeaſonable hours, and in obſcure places, where perſons of quality did not chuſe to reſort, and that he frequently received letters from them. All which made him apprehend, that there was a deſign on foot, which, how unreaſonable ſoever, the duke might be engaged in; and for theſe and other reaſons, and

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the irregular courſe of his life, he was reſolved to withdraw himſelf from his ſervice; and that he hoped, into what extravagancies ſoever the duke ſhould caſt himſelf, his majeſty would retain a good opinion of him, who would never ſwerve from his affection and duty. The information and teſtimony which the lord Arlington brought to the king ſhortly after this advertiſement made the greater impreſſion, and there were many particulars in the informations that could not be ſuſpected to be forged; and it appeared, that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging about Tower-hill, and profeſſed skill in horoſcopes, to whom the duke often repaired in diſguiſe in the night; and the lord Arlington had cauſed that fellow to be apprehended, and his pockets and his chamber to be ſearched, where were found ſeveral letters to the duke of Buckingham, one or two whereof were in his pocket ſealed and not ſent, and the reſt copies; and one original letter from the duke to him: in all which there were many unuſual expreſſions, which were capable of a very ill interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This man and ſome others were ſent cloſe priſoners to the Tower, where the lord Arlington, and two other privy-counſellors by the king's order took their ſeveral examinations, and confronted them with thoſe witneſſes, who accuſed them, and juſtified their accuſations, which were brought to the king. Then his majeſty was pleaſed to acquaint the chancellor with all that had paſſed, who to that minute had not the leaſt imagination of any particular relating to it, nor had he any other prejudice to the perſon of the duke (for he behaved himſelf towards him with more than ordinary civility) than what was neceſſary for any man to have upon account of the extravagance of his life: and which he could not be without, upon what he had often

received from the duke himſelf upon his own knowledge. The king now ſhewed him all thoſe examinations and depoſitions which had been taken, and that letter from the fellow, which his majeſty ſaid he knew to be every word the duke's own hand, and the letters from the fellow, which ſtill gave him the ſtyle of prince, and mentioned what great things his ſtars promiſed to him, and that he was the darling of the people, who had ſet their affections and all their hopes upon his highneſs, with many other fooliſh and ſome fuſtian expreſſions. His majeſty told him in what places the duke had been ſince he left London, that he ſtaid few days in any place, and that he intended ſuch a day, that was to come, to be in Staffordſhire, at the houſe of Sir Charles Wolſeley, a gentleman who had been of great eminence in Cromwell's council, and one of thoſe who had been ſent by the houſe of commons to perſuade him to accept the crown with the title of king. Upon the whole matter his majeſty asked him, what way he was to proceed againſt him. To which he anſwered that he was firſt to be apprehended, and when he ſhould be in cuſtody and examined, his majeſty would better judge which way he was to proceed againſt him. Upon farther conſultation with the chancellor and lord Arlington, and others of the council, the king ſent a ſerjeant at arms with a warrant under his ſign manual to apprehend the duke of Buckingham, and to bring him before one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to anſwer to ſuch crimes as ſhould be be objected againſt him, or to that purpoſe. The ſerjeant made a journey into Northamptonſhire, where he was informed the duke was; but ſtill when he came to the houſe where he was ſaid to be, it was pretended that he was gone from the houſe ſome hours before, by which he found that he had notice of his

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buſineſs, and therefore he concealed himſelf, and appointed ſome men to watch and inform themſelves of his motions, it being generally reported that he would be at the houſe of the earl of Exeter at ſuch a time, and notice was given him that he was in a coach going with ladies to that houſe, upon which he made ſo good haſte, that he was in view of the coach, and ſaw the duke alight out of the coach, and lead a lady into the houſe, upon which the door of the court was ſhut before he could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and at other doors that were all ſhut, that he could not get into the houſe, though it were ſome hours before ſun-ſet in the month of May. After ſome hours attendance, one Mr. Fairfax, who waited upon the duke of Buckingham, came to the door, and without opening it, asked him what he would have, and he anſwered that he had a meſſage to the duke from the king, and that he muſt ſpeak with him; to which he replied, that he was not there, and that he ſhould ſeek for him in ſome other place. The ſerjeant told him that he ſaw him go into the houſe, and that if he might not be admitted to ſpeak with him, he would require the ſheriff of the county to give him his aſſiſtance. Upon which the gentleman went away, and about half an hour after returned again, and threatened the ſerjeant ſo much after he had opened the door, that the poor man had not the courage to ſtay longer, but returned to the court, and gave a full relation in writing to the ſecretary of the endeavours he had uſed, and the affronts he had received.

Why all the particular circumſtances of this affair are ſo punctually related will appear anon. The king was ſo exceedingly offended at this carriage and behaviour of the duke's, that he made relation of it to the council board, and publickly declared that he was no longer of that number; and cauſed

his name to be left out in the list of the councellors, and that he was no longer a gentleman of his bedchamber, and put the earl of Rochester to wait in his place. His majesty likewise revoked that commission by which he was constituted lord lieutenant of the East-riding of Yorkshire, and granted that commission to the earl of Burlington; so that it was not possible for his majesty to give more lively instances of his displeasure against any man, than he had done against the duke; and at the same time with the advice of the board, a proclamation was issued out for his apprehension, and inhibiting all persons to entertain, receive, or conceal him, upon which he thought it fit to leave the country, and that he should be less discovered in London, whether he resorted, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city; and tho' his majesty had frequent intelligence where he was, and continued advertisements of the liberty he took in his discourses of the king's own person and of some others, of which he was no less sensible, yet when the serjeant at arms, and others employed for his apprehension came where he was known to have been but an hour before, he was gone from thence, or so concealed there, that he could not be found, and in this manner he continued sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months. At last being advertised of new instances of the king's displeasure, and that it every day increased upon new intelligence that he received of his behaviour, he grew weary of the posture he was in, and employed several persons to move the king on his behalf; for he was informed that the king resolved to proceed against him for his life, and that his estate was begged and given. Upon this one night he sent his secretary Mr. Clifford to the chancellor, with whom he had

had never entered into any diſpute, with ſome compliments and expreſſions of confidence in his friendſhip. He profeſſed great innocence and integrity in all his actions, with reference to the king, tho' he might have been paſſionate and indiſcreet in his words; that there was a conſpiracy againſt his life; and that his eſtate was granted or promiſed to perſons, who had begged it; and in concluſion he deſired that he would ſend him his advice what he ſhould do, but rather that he would permit him to come to him in the evening to his houſe, that he might confer with him. The chancellor anſwered his ſecretary, that was well known to him, that he might not confer with him, till he rendered himſelf to the king; that he was confident, having ſeen teſtimony enough to convince him to the contrary, that the duke was not innocent; and that he had much to anſwer for diſreſpective mention of the king, which would require much acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion, but that he did not know that his crimes were of that magnitude, as would put his life into danger; and that he was moſt confident that there was no conſpiracy to take that from him, except his faults were of another nature, than they yet appeared to be; and which no conſpiracy, which he need not fear, could deprive him of, and he need not believe that there had been any attempt to beg his eſtate, but he was ſure there had not been, nor could be any grant of it to any man, which muſt have paſſed by the great ſeal. He did adviſe him, and deſired him to follow his advice, that if he did ſhew himſelf innocent as to unlawful actions and deſigns, and that his fault conſiſted only in indiſcreet words, as he ſeemed to confeſs, that he would no longer aggrevate his offence by contemning his warrants, which he would not be long able to avoid, but

deliver himſelf into the cuſtody of the lieutenant of the Tower, which he was at liberty by the proclamation to do; and ſend then a petition to the king, that he might be heard; and that when he had done this, he would be ready and willing to do him all the offices which would conſiſt with his duty; and the next day he gave his majeſty a particular account of the meſſage which he had received, and of the anſwer which he had returned, which his majeſty approved, and ſhewed him a letter that he had received from the duke that morning, which ſeemed to have been written after his ſecretary had returned from the chancellor. The letter contained a large profeſſion of his innocence, and complaint of the power of his enemies, and a very earneſt deſire that his majeſty would give him leave to ſpeak with him; and then to diſpoſe of him, as he pleaſed. To which his majeſty had anſwered the perſon, who brought the letter, who as I remember, was Sir Robert Howard, that the duke need not fear the power of any enemies, but would be ſure to have juſtice, if he would ſubmit to it. But his majeſty in his diſcourſe ſeemed to be as weary of the proſecution, as the duke was of concealing himſelf to avoid it, and to have much apprehenſion of his intereſt and power in the parliament, and to be troubled that the principal witneſs, upon whoſe teſtimony he relied, was at that time ſick of the ſmall pox, and in danger of death; and that another retracted part of that evidence that he had given; in a word, his majeſty appeared leſs angry than he had been, and willing that an end ſhould be put to the buſineſs, without any public proſecution, to which the chancellor made no other anſwer, than that no advice could be given with preſervation of his majeſty's dignity, till the duke rendered himſelf into the hand of juſtice, which

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he was very unwilling to do, and ſent again to the chancellor by Sir Robert Howard, to preſs him, that he might be admitted firſt to the king's preſence, and then ſent to the Tower. The other told him that if the king were inclined to admit him in that manner he would diſſuade him from it, as a thing diſhonourable to him, after ſo long a conteſt; and repeated the ſame to him, that he had ſaid formerly to Mr. Clifford; nor could he be perſuaded by any others, for others did ſpeak to him to the ſame purpoſe, to recede a little from what he had inſiſted upon, that he ſhould put himſelf in the Tower. Of all which he ſtill gave the king a faithful account of every word that paſſed; for he knew well, that the lord Arlington endeavoured to perſuade the king, that the chancellor favoured the duke, and deſired that he ſhould be at liberty, when at the ſame time he uſed all the ways he could to have it inſinuated to the duke's friends, that he knew nothing of the buſineſs, but that the whole proſecution was made by the information and advice of the chancellor.

In the end the duke was perſuaded to render himſelf to the Tower, and from thence he ſent a petition to the king, who preſently appeared inclined to give over any further proſecution: which alteration all men wondered at, nor could any man imagine the ground or reaſon of it; for tho' the principal witneſs was dead, as the lord Arlington declared he was, and that ſo much could not be proved as at the firſt diſcovery was reaſonably ſuſpected, yet the meanneſs and vileneſs of the perſons with whom he kept ſo familiar correſpondence, the letters between them which were ready to be produced, the diſreſpectful and ſcandalous diſcourſes which he had often held concerning the king's

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perſon, and many other particulars which had moſt inflamed the king, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifeſted ſo much vanity and preſumption in the duke as muſt have leſſened his credit and reputation with all ſerious men, and made him worthy of ſevere cenſure. But the king thought not fit to proceed upon the words and ſcandalous diſcourſes, which he thought would more diſperſe and publiſh the ſcandals: whither he did really believe that it would diſturb and obſtruct all his buſineſs in parliament, or what other reaſon ſoever prevailed with his majeſty, as without doubt ſome other there were, but his majeſty was very impatient to be rid of the buſineſs, and would have been eaſily perſuaded to have given preſent order for ſetting the duke at liberty, and ſo to ſilence all further diſcourſe. But he was perſuaded that that would moſt reflect upon his majeſty's own honour, by making it believed that there had been in truth a foul conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the duke, which would give him more credit in the parliament and every where elſe, for the king had not yet with all his indulgence, a better opinion of his affection and fidelity than he had before. In concluſion, it was reſolved that the lieutenant of the Tower ſhould bring the duke of Buckingham to the council chamber, his majeſty being preſent; and there the attorney and ſolicitor general ſhould open the charge that was againſt him, and read all the examinations which had been taken, and the letters which had paſſed between them; all which was done, and the duke denying that he had ever written to that fellow, tho' he knew him well, and uſed to make himſelf merry with him, the letter was produced, which the king and the lord Arlington, who both knew his hand well, made no doubt to

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be his hand, and delivered to the duke, who, as ſoon as he caſt his eye upon it, ſaid it was not his hand, but he well knew whoſe it was; and being asked whoſe hand it was, he ſaid, it was his ſiſter's the ducheſs of Richmond, with whom he ſaid it was known, that he had no correſpondence. Whereupon the king called for the letter, and having looked upon it, he ſaid he had been miſtaken, and confeſſed that it was the ducheſs's hand, and ſeemed much out of countenance upon the miſtake, tho' the letter gave ſtill as much cauſe of ſuſpicion; for it was as ſtrange that ſhe ſhould write to ſuch a fellow, in a ſtyle ſo very obliging, and being in anſwer to a letter, ſo that it ſeemed very reaſonable ſtill to believe, that ſhe might have written upon his deſire and dictating. The duke denied moſt of the particulars contained in the examinations; and, for the other letters which had been written to him by the fellow who was in the Tower, whereof one was found in his pocket ſealed, to be ſent to the duke, and the others were copies of others which had been ſent, and the witneſs, who was dead, had delivered one of them into the duke's own hand, and related at large the kindneſs he expreſſed towards the man, and the meſſage he ſent to him by him, he denied that he had ever received thoſe letters, but acknowledged that the man came often to him, and pretended skill in horoſcopes, but more in diſtillations, in which the duke delighted and exerciſed himſelf, but looked upon the fellow as cracked in his brain, and fit only to be laugh'd at. When the duke was withdrawn, the king declared that he had been deceived in being confident that the letter had been written by the duke, which he now diſcerned not to be his hand, and he knew as well to have been written by the ducheſs, and thereupon ſeemed to think that there was nothing elſe worth the examining, and ſo

order was given to ſet the duke at liberty, who immediately went to his own houſe, and went not in ſome days afterward to the court.

About this time or in few days afterwards, a great affliction befell the chancellor in his domeſtic affairs, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected accidents that ſuddenly ſucceeded that more inſupportable misfortune. His wife, the mother of all his children, and his companion in all his baniſhment, and who had made all his former calamities, leſs grievous by her company and courage, having made a journey to Tunbridge for her health, returned from thence without the benefit ſhe expected, yet without being thought by the phyſicians to be in any danger, and within leſs than three days died: which was ſo ſudden, unexpected and irreparable a loſs, that he had not courage to ſupport it, which no body wondered at, who knew the mutual ſatisfaction and comfort they had in each other; and he might poſſibly have ſunk under it, if his enemies had not found out a new kind of conſolation to him, which his friends could never have thought of. Within few days after his wife's death, the king vouchſafed to come to his houſe to condole with him, and uſed many gracious expreſſions to him: yet within leſs than a fortnight, the duke (who was ſeldom a day without doing him the honour to ſee him) came to ſee him, and with very much trouble, told him that ſuch a day that was paſt walking with the king in the park, his majeſty aſked him how the chancellor did, to which his highneſs had made anſwer, that he was the moſt diſconſolate perſon he ever ſaw; and that he had lamented himſelf to him, not only upon the loſs of his wife, but out of apprehenſion that his majeſty had of late withdrawn his countenance from him: to which his majeſty replied, that he

he wondered he ſhould think ſo, but that he would ſpeak more to him of that ſubject the next day, and that that morning his majeſty had held a long diſcourſe with him, in which he told him, that he had received very particular and certain intelligence, that, when the parliament ſhould meet again, they were reſolved to impeach the chancellor, who was grown very odious to them, not only for his having oppoſed them in all thoſe things, upon which they had ſet their hearts, but that they had been informed that he had oppoſed and adviſed the diſſolution, which had enraged them to that degree, that they had taken a reſolution as ſoon as they came together again, to ſend up an impeachment againſt him, which would be a great diſhonour to his majeſty, and obſtruct all his affairs, nor ſhould he be able to protect him, or divert them; and therefore that it would be neceſſary for his ſervice, and likewiſe for the preſervation of the chancellor, that he ſhould deliver up the ſeal to him, all which he deſired the duke (who confeſſed that he had likewiſe received the ſame advertiſement) to inform him of, and that the chancellor himſelf ſhould chuſe the way and manner of delivering up the ſeal, whether he would wait upon the king, and give it into his own hand, or whether the king ſhould ſend a letter or a privy-counſellor for it. When the duke had ſaid all that the king had given him in charge, he declared himſelf to be much unſatisfied with the king's reſolution; and though he had received the ſame advertiſement, and believed that there was a real combination and conſpiracy againſt him, yet he knew the chancellor's innocence would not be frighted with it. The chancellor was indeed as much ſurpriſed with this relation, as he could have been at the ſight of a warrant for his execu-

tion. He told the duke, that he did not wonder that the king and his highneſs had been informed of ſuch a reſolution; for that they, who had contrived the conſpiracy, and done all they could to make it prevalent, could beſt inform his majeſty and his highneſs of what would probably fall out, and thereupon he informed the duke of what had paſſed at the laſt prorogation, and the diſcourſe and promiſe Sir William Coventry had made to them, if they had a mind to be rid of the chancellor: but he ſaid, that which only afflicted him, was, that the king ſhould have no better opinion of his innocence and integrity, than to conclude that ſuch a combination muſt ruin him; and he was more troubled to find that the king himſelf had ſo terrible an apprehenſion of their power and purpoſes, as if they might do any thing they had a mind to do. He did not believe he was ſo odious to the parliament as he had been reported to be, if he were, it was only for his zeal to his majeſty's ſervice, and his inſiſting upon what his majeſty had reſolved; but he was confident, that when his enemies had done all that their malice could ſuggeſt againſt him, it would appear that the parliament was not of their mind; he wiſhed that he might have the honour to ſpeak with the king before he returned any anſwer to his commands; the duke was pleaſed graciouſly to reply, that it was the advice he intended to give him that he ſhould deſire it, and that he doubted not but that he ſhould eaſily prevail with the king to come to his houſe, whither he had uſed ſo frequently to come, and where he had been ſo few days before; and at this time the chancellor was not only well able to walk, beſides, that it was againſt the common rules of decency to go ſo ſoon out of his houſe: when the duke deſired the king that he would vouchſafe to go to Clarendon-

houſe,

houſe, his majeſty very readily conſented to it, and ſaid he would go thither the next day; but that and more days paſſed, and when he told the duke, that ſince he reſolved to take the ſeal, it would not be ſo fit for him to go thither, but would ſend to the chancellor to come to his own chamber in Whitehall, and he would go thither to him. In the mean time it begun to be the diſcourſe of the court and the ducheſs, from whom the duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it, who preſently went to the king with ſome paſſion; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the general accompanied her, who all beſought the king not to take ſuch a reſolution, and many other of the privy-council, with none of whom the chancellor had ſpoken, taking notice of the rumour, attended the king with the ſame ſuit and advice; to all whom his majeſty anſwered, that what he intended was for his good, and the only way to preſerve him. He held longer diſcourſe to the general, that he believed, by what his brother had told him of the extreme agony the chancellor was in upon the death of his wife, that he had himſelf deſired to be diſmiſſed from his office, and bade the general go to him, and bid him come the next morning to his chamber at Whitehall, and the king would come thither to him; and the general came to him with great profeſſions of kindneſs, which he had well deſerved from him; gave him a relation of all that had paſſed with the king; and concluded, that what had been done, had been upon miſtake, and he doubted not but that, upon conference with his majeſty, all things would be ſettled again to his content, which no doubt at that time he did believe as well as wiſh.

Upon Monday the 26th of Auguſt, about ten o'clock in the morning, the chancellor went to his chamber in White-

hall,

hall, where he had not been many minutes, before the king and duke by themſelves came into the room. His majeſty looked very graciouſly upon him, and made him ſit down; when the other acknowledged the honour his majeſty had done him in admitting him into his preſence, before he executed a reſolution he had taken, but only to receive his determination from himſelf, and moſt humbly to beſeech him, to let him know what fault he had committed, that had drawn this ſeverity upon him from his majeſty. The king told him he had not any thing to object againſt him, but muſt always acknowledge that he had always ſerved him honeſtly and faithfully, and that he did believe that never king had a better ſervant; and that he had taken this reſolution for his good and preſervation, as well as for his own eaſe and ſecurity; and that he had verily believed that it had been upon his conſent and deſire, and thereupon his majeſty entered upon a relation of all that had paſſed between him and the duke, and that he really thought his brother had concurred with him in his opinion, as the only way to preſerve him. In that diſcourſe the duke poſitively denied to have ſaid ſomewhat, and explained other things as not ſaid to the purpoſe his majeſty underſtood, or that he ever implied that himſelf thought it fit. The ſum of what his majeſty ſaid was, that he was moſt aſſured by information that he could not deceive him, that the parliament was reſolved, as ſoon as they ſhould come together again, to impeach the chancellor; and then that his innocence would no more defend and ſecure him againſt their power, than the earl of Strafford had defended himſelf againſt them; and he ſaid he was ſure that his taking the ſeal from him at this time would ſo well pleaſe the parliament, that his majeſty ſhould thereby be able to preſerve him, and to provide for the

paſſage

paſſage of his own buſineſs, and the obtaining all that he deſired. He ſaid he was ſorry that the buſineſs had taken ſo much air, and was ſo publickly ſpoken of; that he knew not how to change his purpoſe, which he ſeemed to impute to the paſſion of the ducheſs that had divulged it. The chancellor told him that he had not contributed to the noiſe, nor had imparted to his own children, till they with great trouble informed him, that they heard it from ſuch and ſuch perſons, whom they named, with ſome complaint, that it was concealed from them: nor did he then come in hope to divert him from the reſolution he had taken in the matter itſelf. He ſaid he had but two things to trouble him with, the firſt that he would by no means ſuffer it to be believed that he himſelf was willing to deliver up the ſeal; and that he ſhould not think himſelf a gentleman, if he were willing to depart and withdraw himſelf from his office, in a time, when he thought his majeſty would have need of all honeſt men, and in which he thought he might be able to do him ſome ſervice. The ſecond, that he could not acknowledge this deprivation to be done in his favour, or in order to do him good, but on the contrary, that he looked upon it as the greateſt ruin he could undergo, by his majeſty's own declaring his judgment upon him, which amounted to little leſs than a confirmation of thoſe many libellous diſcourſes that had been raiſed, and would upon the matter expoſe him to the rage and fury of the people, who had been with great artifice and induſtry perſuaded to believe, that he had been the cauſe and counſellor of all that they liked not; that he was ſo far from fearing the juſtice of the parliament, that he renounced his majeſty's protection or interpoſition towards his preſervation; and that tho' the earl of Strafford had

had undergone a ſentence he did not deſerve, yet he could not acknowledge their caſes to be parallel; that tho' that great perſon had never committed any offence that could amount to treaſon, yet he had done many things which he could not juſtify; and which were tranſgreſſions againſt the law, whereas he was not guilty of any action whereof he did not deſire the law might be the judge; and if his majeſty himſelf ſhould diſcover all that he had ſaid to him in ſecret, he feared not any cenſure that ſhould attend it, if any body could charge him with any crime or offence, he would moſt willingly undergo the puniſhment that belonged to it; but he ſaid he doubted very much that the throwing off an old ſervant who had ſerved the crown in ſome truſt near thirty years, who had the honour by the command of his bleſſed father, who had left good evidence of the eſteem he had of his fidelity, to wait upon his majeſty when he went out of the kingdom, and by the great bleſſing of God, had the honour to return with him again, which no other counſellor alive could ſay, ſhould on the ſudden, without any ſuggeſtion of a crime, nay, with a declaration of innocence, would call his majeſty's juſtice and good nature into queſtion, and men would not know how ſecurely to ſerve him, when they ſhould ſee it was in the power of three or four perſons who had never done him any notable ſervice, nor were in the opinion of thoſe, who knew them beſt ſo like to do, to diſpoſe him to ſo ungracious an act. The king ſeemed very much troubled and irreſolute; then repeated the great power of the parliament, and the clear information he had of their purpoſes, and that they were reſolved to go thro' with it right or wrong, and that his own condition was ſuch that he could not diſpute with them, but was upon the matter at their

mercy;

mercy; the chancellor told him it was not poſſible for his majeſty to have any probable aſſurance of what the parliament would do; and tho' he knew he had offended ſome of the houſe of commons in oppoſing their deſires in ſuch particulars as his majeſty thought were prejudicial to his ſervice, yet he did not doubt but his reputation was much greater in both houſes than either of theirs, who were all known to have been guilty of ſome tranſgreſſions, which they would have been called in queſtion for in parliament, if he had not very induſtriouſly, out of the tenderneſs he had for his majeſty's honourable ſervice, prevented it, ſomewhat whereof was not unknown to his majeſty. He concluded with beſeeching him, that whatever reſolution he took in this particular, not to ſuffer his ſpirits to fall, nor himſelf to be dejected with the apprehenſion of the formidable power of the parliament, which was more, or leſs, or nothing, as he pleaſed to make it; that it was yet in his own power to govern them; but if they found it was in theirs to govern him, no body knew what the end would be; and thereupon he made him a ſhort relation of the method that was uſed in the time of Richard the Second, when they terrified the king with the power and the purpoſes of the parliament, till they brought him to conſent to that, from which he could not redeem himſelf, and without which they could have done him no harm; and in the warmth of this relation he found a ſeaſonable opportunity to mention the lady, with ſome reflections and cautions, which he might more adviſedly have declined. After two hours diſcourſe, the king roſe without ſaying any thing, but appeared not well pleaſed with all that had been ſaid, and the duke of York found that he was offended with the laſt part of it. The garden, that uſed to be private, had now many in it, to obſerve the

countenance of the king, when he came out of the room; and when the chancellor returned, the lady, the lord Arlington and Mr. May looked together out of their open window, with great gaiety and triumph; which all people observed.

Four or five days passed without any further proceedings, or the king's declaring his resolution; and in that time the chancellor's concern was the only argument of the court; many of the council, and other persons of honour and interest, presumed to speak with the king, and to give a very good testimony of him, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his parts and credit with the sober part of the nation; and to those his majesty always commended him with profession of much kindness, but said, he had made himself odious to the parliament, and so was no more capable to do him service. On the other side the lady, and lord Arlington, and Sir William Coventry exceedingly triumphed; the last of which openly and without reserve declared, that he had given the king advice to remove him, as a man odious to the parliament; and that the king would be ruined if he did it not; that he was so imperious, that he would endure no contradiction; with many other reproaches to that purpose. But except those three and Mr. May, and Mr. Brounker, there seemed none of name in the court, who wished that the resolution should be pursued. The duke concerned himself wonderfully on the chancellor's behalf, and with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express on the behalf of his friend. He had great indignation at the behaviour of Sir William Coventry and Mr. Brounker; that being his servants they should presume to show so much malice towards a person they knew he had a kindness for; and the former had so much

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ſenſe of it, that he reſolved to quit the relation, by which he had got vaſt wealth; and came to him and told him, that ſince he was commiſſioner for the treaſury, he found he ſhould not be able to attend his ſervice ſo diligently as he ought to do, and therefore deſired his highneſs's favour in his diſmiſſion, and that he would give him leave to commend an honeſt man to ſucceed him in his ſervice: to which his highneſs ſhortly anſwered, that he might diſpoſe of himſelf as he would, with which he was well content, and that he would chuſe another ſecretary for himſelf without his recommendation; and his highneſs preſently went to the chancellor, and informed him of it with diſpleaſure enough towards the man, and much ſatisfaction that he was rid of him, and asked him whom he would recommend to him for a ſecretary. He told his highneſs, that if he would truſt his judgment, he would recommend a perſon to him, who he believed was not unknown to him, and for whoſe parts and fidelity he would paſs his word, having had good experience both in his having ſerved him as a ſecretary for the ſpace of above ſeven years, and named Mr. Wren: the duke ſaid he knew him well, being a member of the royal company, where he often heard him ſpeak very intelligently, and diſcerned him to be a man of very good parts, and therefore he would very willingly receive him, and the rather, that he knew it would be looked upon as an evidence of his kindneſs to him, which he would always own and teſtify to all the world; and within two days after, he received him into his ſervice with the king's approbation, the gentleman's abilities being very well known, and his perſon much loved. In this ſuſpenſion the common argument was not now the queſtion, whether the chancellor was innocent, but whether when the king had reſolved to

remove him, and had now proceeded ſo far towards it, he ſhould retract his reſolution, and be governed by his brother. It was enough that he was not beloved, and that the court wiſhed him removed; and Mr. Brounker openly declared, that the reſolution had been taken above two months before; and that it would not conſiſt with his majeſty's honour to be hector'd out of it by his brother, who was wrought upon by his wife's crying: and this kind of argumentation was every moment inculcated by the lady and her party, inſomuch as when the duke made his inſtances with all the importunity he could uſe, and put his majeſty in mind of many diſcourſes his majeſty had formerly held with him of the chancellor's honeſty and diſcretion, conjuring him to love and eſteem him accordingly, when his highneſs had not ſo good an opinion of him; and that how he had found by good experience that he had deſerved that character, his majeſty would withdraw his kindneſs from him, and rather believe others, who he knew were his enemies, than his own judgment; the king gave no other anſwer than that he had proceeded too far to retire; and that he ſhould be looked upon as a child, if he receded from his purpoſe: and ſo being re-confirmed upon the 30th of Auguſt, in the year 1667, he ſent ſecretary Morrice, who had no mind to the employment, with a warrant under the ſign manual, to require and receive the great ſeal; which the chancellor immediately delivered to him, with all the expreſſions of duty to the king; and, as ſoon as the ſecretary had delivered it to the king in his cloſet, Mr. May went into the cloſet, and fell upon his knees, and kiſſed his majeſty's hand, telling him that he was now king, which he had never been before.

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The chancellor believed that the ſtorm had been now over, for he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of the diſpleaſure of the parliament, or of any thing they could ſay or do againſt him, yet he reſolved to ſtay at his houſe till it ſhould meet, without going thither, which he was informed would be ill taken, that he might not be thought to be afraid of being queſtioned, and then to retire into the country, and live there privately; and there was a report raiſed without any ground, that he intended to go to the houſe of peers, and take his precedence as chancellor, with which the king was much offended; but as ſoon as he heard of it, he deſired the lord chamberlain to aſſure his majeſty that he never intended any ſuch thing, nor would ever do any thing that he believed would diſpleaſe him, with which he ſeemed well ſatisfied. However, a new tempeſt was quickly raiſed againſt him; many perſons of honour and quality came every day to viſit him with many expreſſions of affection and eſteem, and moſt of the king's ſervants, except thoſe few who had declared themſelves his enemies, ſtill frequented his houſe with the ſame kindneſs they always profeſſed. But they were looked upon quickly with a very ill countenance by the other party, and were plainly told that the king would take it ill from all his ſervants who viſited the chancellor; tho' when ſome of them aſked his majeſty, whether their viſiting him, to whom they had been formerly much beholden, would offend his majeſty, he anſwered no; he had not forbid any man to viſit him, yet it appeared more every day, that they were beſt looked on who forbore going to him; and the other found themſelves upon much diſadvantage, by which however many were not diſcouraged. The chief proſecutors behaved themſelves with more inſolence than

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was agreeable to their diſcretion; and the lord Arlington, who had long before behaved himſelf with very little courteſy towards all perſons whom he believed to be well affected to the chancellor, even towards embaſſadors and other foreign miniſters, now when any of his friends came to him for the diſpatch of buſineſs in his office, aſked them when they ſaw the chancellor, and bade them go to him to put their buſineſs into a method. The duke of Buckingham, who had, after his enlargement, viſited the chancellor, and acknowledged the civilities he had received from him, came now again to the court, and was received with extraordinary grace by the king, and reſtored to all the honours and offices of which he was deprived; and was informed and aſſured, that all the proceedings which had been againſt him, were upon the information and advice of the chancellor, and whatever he had ſpoken in council, was told him in that manner, and without the true circumſtances that might make moſt impreſſion on him. One day, whilſt that matter was depending (which is not mentioned before) the lord Arlington, after he found that the king had acquainted the chancellor with the buſineſs, and ſhewed him the information and examination which had been taken, propoſed there being more or the ſame witneſſes to be examined, that the chancellor might be preſent with the reſt, who had been formerly employed at their examining; which the king ſeeming to conſent to; the other deſired to be excuſed; for that the office he held never uſed to be ſubject to thoſe employments; and, in the debate added, that if the teſtimony of witneſſes made good all that was ſuggeſted, and the duke ſhould be brought to a trial, it might probably fall out, that the king might command him to execute the office of high-ſteward, as he had

had lately done in the trial of the lord Morley; and in that reſpect it would be incongruous for him to be preſent at the examinations. The duke was now informed, without any of the circumſtances that the chancellor had ſaid, that he was to be ſteward at the trial of the duke: the duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the matter know that the lord Arlington (with whom he had enmity) had been very ſollicitous in his proſecution, had, after his having viſited the chancellor, ſent a friend, whom he thought he could truſt to him, to deſire him to deal freely with him concerning the lord Arlington, whom he knew to to be an enemy to both of them, and that he muſt have him examined upon that conſpiracy, which he hoped he would not take ill: to which he anſwered, that he neither could or would be examined concerning any thing that had been ſaid or done in council; but that he would act as his friend, and prevent his expoſing himſelf to any new inconvenience, very freely and faithfully aſſuring him, that he did not believe that there had been any conſpiracy againſt him, nor did he know that the lord Arlington had done any thing in the proſecution, but what was according to the obligation and duty of his office; which teſtimony he ſaid could proceed only from juſtice, ſince he well knew that lord did not wiſh him well. This anſwer, it ſeems, or the deſpair of drawing any other from him to his purpoſe, diſpoſed him to give intire credit to the other information; and the king took great pains to reconcile him to the lord Arlington, who made many vows to him of his future ſervice, and deſired his protection: and hereupon the duke openly profeſſed his reſolution of revenge, and frankly entered into the combination with lord Arlington and Sir William Coventry againſt the chancellor: but the knowledge of all this did not give him much trouble, ſo much confidence he had

had in his own innocence, and ſo little eſteem of the credit and intereſt of his enemies, until he heard that the king himſelf expreſſed great diſpleaſure towards him, and declared that he had miſbehaved himſelf towards his majeſty; and that he was ſo imperious that he would endure no contradiction; that he had a faction in the houſe of commons, that oppoſed every thing that concerned his majeſty's ſervice, if it were not recommended to them by him; and that he had given him very ill advice concerning the parliament which offended him much: all which they, to whom his majeſty ſaid it, divulged to others, that they might thereby leſſen the chancellor's credit and intereſt. It is very true, they who had taken all advantages to alienate the king's affections from him, had at firſt only propoſed his removal, as a perſon odious to the parliament, and whom they were reſolved to impeach, which would put his majeſty into a ſtreight either to remove or deſert an old ſervant, which would not be for his honour, or by protecting him, deprive himſelf of all thoſe benefits which he expected from the parliament; whereas the removing him would ſo gratify the houſes that they would deny nothing that his majeſty ſhould demand of them; and his majeſty did believe it the only way to preſerve him; but when they had prevailed ſo far, and rendered themſelves more neceſſary to him, they proſecuted what they had begun with more viſible animoſity; and told him, that if the parliament ſuſpected that his majeſty ſtill retained any kindneſs towards him, they would not be ſatisfied with his removal, but apprehend that he would be again received into his favour; and he would, in the mean time, have ſo much credit in both houſes, eſpecially if he ſat in the houſe of peers, which they undertook to know he intended to do, that

that he would be able to obſtruct whatſoever his majeſty deſired, and therefore it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould upon all occaſions declare, and that it ſhould be believed, that he had ſo full a prejudice againſt him, that no body ſhould have cauſe to fear, that he would ever again be received into any truſt; and this diſpoſed his majeſty to diſcourſe to many in that manner that is before ſet down; and when the duke of York lamented to his majeſty the reports which were generally ſpread abroad of the diſcourſes which he made to many perſons of the chancellor's misbehaviour to himſelf, and his own diſpleaſure againſt him, the king denied many of the particulars, as that concerning his ill council againſt the parliament; which he denied to have ſpoken: but ſaid withall, that if the chancellor had done, as he adviſed him, and delivered up the ſeal to him, as of his own inclination, all would have been quiet; but ſince he inſiſted ſo much upon it, and compelled him to ſend for it in that manner, he was obliged, in the vindication of his honour, to give ſome reaſons for what he had done, when other men took upon them ſo loudly to commend the chancellor, and to juſtify his innocence, not without ſome reflection upon his own honour and juſtice; which he could not but take very ill. But he ſhould not ſuffer (he ſaid) for what other men did, and that he would uſe his two ſons as kindly as he ever had done; and it muſt be always acknowledged, that tho' great importunity was uſed to his majeſty to diſcharge his two ſons from his ſervice, as a thing neceſſary by all the rules of policy not to ſuffer his ſons to remain ſo near his perſon, when their father lay under ſo notorious a brand of his diſpleaſure; in which they believed they had ſo far prevailed, that they took upon them to promiſe their places to

other men; but the king poſitively refuſed to yield to them, and continued his favour ſtill to them both in the ſame manner he had done; and though he was long after perſuaded to ſuſpend his eldeſt ſon from waiting, under which cloud he continued for many months, yet at laſt he was reſtored to his place, with circumſtances of extraordinary favour and grace; nor did his majeſty afterwards recede from his goodneſs towards either of them, notwithſtanding all the attempts which were made.

The parliament met again upon the 10th of October, when the king, in a ſhort ſpeech, told them that there had been ſome former miſcarriages, which had occaſioned ſome difference between him and them; but that he had now alter'd his councils, and made no queſtion but that they ſhould henceforward agree; for he was reſolved to give them all ſatisfaction, and did not doubt but that they would ſupply his neceſſities, and provide for the payment of his debts; with an inſinuation that what had been formerly done amiſs, had been by the advice of the perſon, whom he had removed from his councils, and with whom he ſhould not hereafter adviſe. When the houſe of Commons came together, one Tomkins (a man of very contemptible parts, and of worſe manners, who uſed to be encouraged by men of deſign, to ſet ſome motion on foot (which they thought not fit to appear in themſelves, till they diſcern'd how it would take) moved the houſe that they might ſend a meſſage of thanks to the king, for his gracious expreſſions, and for the many good things which he had done, and particularly for removing the chancellor; which was ſeconded by two or three, but rejected by the houſe, as a thing unreaſonable for them who knew not the motives which had diſpoſed his majeſty: and ſo a committee

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was appointed to prepare ſuch a meſſage as might be fit for them to ſend. And the houſe of lords, the ſame day, ſent to the king, without conſulting with the houſe of commons, to give his majeſty thanks for the ſpeech he had made to them in the morning, which commonly uſed to be done. The king declared himſelf very much offended that the propoſition in the houſe, for returning thanks to him, had not ſucceeded, and more that it had been oppoſed by many of his own ſervants, and commanded them to preſs and renew the motion; that his honour was concern'd in it, and therefore he would expect thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own ſervants who refuſed to concur in it. Hereupon it was again moved; but, notwithſtanding all the labour that had been uſed, contrary to all cuſtom and privilege of parliament, the queſtion held ſix hours debate, very many ſpeaking againſt the injuſtice and irregularity of it, they on the other ſide urged the king's expectation of it. In the end, the queſtion being put, it was believed the no's to be the greater number; but the diviſion of the houſe was not urged for many reaſons, and ſo the vote was ſent to the houſe of lords, who were deſired to concur with them; but it had there a greater contradiction. They had already returned their thanks to the king, and now to ſend again, and add any particular to it, would be very incongruous, and without any preſident; and therefore they would not concur in it. This obſtinacy very much diſpleaſed the king; and he was perſuaded by thoſe who had hitherto prevailed with him to believe that this contradiction, if he did not maſter it, would run through all his buſineſs that ſhould be brought into that houſe. Whereupon his majeſty reproached many of the lords for preſuming to oppoſe and croſs what was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for his ſervice, and ſent to the archbiſhop of

Canterbury, that he ſhould, in his name, command all the biſhops bench to concur in it; and if they ſhould refuſe it, he would make them repent it, with many other very ſevere reprehenſions and animadverſions. This being done in ſo extraordinary a manner, the duke of York told his majeſty how much it was ſpoken of and wonder'd at. To which his majeſty reply'd, that his honour was engaged, and that he would not be ſatisfied if thanks were not returned to him by both houſes, and that it ſhould go the worſe for the chancellor, if his friends oppoſed it; and he commanded his royal highneſs, that he ſhould not croſs it, but was contented to diſpenſe with his attendance, and gave him leave to be abſent from the debate, which liberty many others likewiſe took; and ſo, when it was again mov'd, though it ſtill was confidently oppoſed, it was carried by a major part, many being abſent: ſo both houſes attended the king, and gave him thanks, which his majeſty graciouſly received, as a boon he look'd for, and ſaid ſomewhat that implied that he was much diſpleaſed with the chancellor; of which ſome men thought they were to make the beſt uſe they could; and therefore, after the king's anſwer was reported to the houſe of peers, as of courſe whatſoever the king ſays upon any meſſage is always reported, it was propoſed that the king's anſwer might be entered in the journal-book, which was rejected as not uſual, even when the king himſelf ſpoke to both houſes, nor what he now ſaid, was entered in the houſe of commons. However, when they had conſulted together, they found that they had not yet ſo particular a record of the king's diſpleaſure againſt the chancellor as what he had ſaid upon this meſſage did amount unto. They moved the houſe again that it might be entered in the book, and it was again rejected: all which

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would not ſerve the turn, but the duke of Buckingham a third time moved it as a thing the king expected, and therefore it was entered; and his majeſty now declared to his brother and to many of the lords, that he had now all he deſired, and that there ſhould be no more done to the chancellor; and, without doubt, the king had not at this time a purpoſe to give any further countenance to the animoſity of his enemies, who thought that what was already done was too eaſy a compoſition, and told his majeſty, that if he were not proſecuted further, he would have gained reputation by it; for that the manner in which all votes had been yet carried, was rather a vindication than a cenſure of him, and he would ſhortly come to the houſe with more credit, to do miſchief, and to obſtruct whatſoever related to his ſervice; but that ſuch things would be found againſt him, as ſoon as men were ſatisfied that his majeſty had totally deſerted him, (which yet they were not) that he would have no more credit to do good or harm. Hereupon there were ſeveral cabals entered into, who invited and ſent for perſons of all conditions, who had had any buſineſs depending before the chancellor, or charters paſſed the ſeal; and examined them, whether he had not received money from them, or were otherwiſe aggrieved by him, promiſing that they ſhould receive ample reparations. The duke of Buckingham, and ſome others with him, ſent for Sir Robert Harlow, who had the year before gone to Barbadoes with the lord Willoughby, who had much friendſhip for him. Yet, after they came thither, they grew unſatisfied with each other to that degree that the lord Willoughby, who was governor of thoſe iſlands, removed him from the office he had conferred on him, and ſent him by the next ſhipping into England, where he arrived, full of vexation for the

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treatment he had received, and willing to embrace any opportunity to be revenged on the governor. Him the duke of Buckingham ſent for, who he knew was privy to all the lord Willoughby's councils, and ask'd him what money the lord Willoughby had given the chancellor for that government (for it was well known that the chancellor had been his chief friend in procuring that government for him, and in diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing thoſe, who in England or in the iſlands, had complained of him) and what money he had received from thoſe iſlands; and that it was probable he had ſome influence upon the lord Willoughby towards the diſgrace himſelf had undergone, and added, that he would do the king a very acceptable ſervice in diſcovering any thing of the chancellor's miſcarriages, of which his majeſty himſelf knew ſo much. To which the gentleman anſwered, that he had no obligation to the chancellor that would reſtrain him from declaring any thing that might be to his prejudice; but that he was not able to do it, nor did he believe that he had ever received any money from the lord Willoughby or from the iſlands: and this kind of artifice and inquiſition was uſed to examine all his actions, and they who were known to be any way offended with him, or diſobliged by him, were moſt welcome to them.

After many days ſpent in ſuch cloſe contrivances and combinations, Mr. Seymour, a young man of great confidence and boldneſs, ſtood up in the houſe of commons, and ſpake long, and with great bitterneſs, againſt the chancellor, and of his great corruption in many particulars, by which, he ſaid, he had gotten a vaſt eſtate; that he had received great ſums of money from Ireland, for making a ſettlement that every body complained of, and that left that kingdom in as great a diſtraction as ever it had been; that

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he had gotten great ſums of money indirectly and corruptly from the plantations; the governments whereof he had diſpoſed of, by preferments in the law and in the church, and for the paſſing of charters; and that he had received four thouſand pounds from the Canary company for the eſtabliſhing that company; which was ſo great and general a grievance to the kingdom; and which, was above all this, that he had traiterouſly perſuaded, or endeavoured to perſuade the king to diſſolve the parliament, and to govern by a ſtanding army: and that he had ſaid, that four hundred country gentlemen were only fit to give money, and did not underſtand how an invaſion was to be reſiſted. He mentioned many other particulars, which he ſaid he would prove; and therefore propoſed, that they would preſently ſend up to the lords to accuſe him of high-treaſon, and require that his perſon might be ſecured. Some others ſeconded him, with many bitter invectives; and as many gave another kind of teſtimony, and many reaſons, which made it improbable that he could be guilty of ſo many heinous crimes; and that it would be unreaſonable he ſhould be accuſed of high-treaſon by the houſe, before ſuch proofs ſhould be preſented to them of crimes, that they had reaſon to believe him guilty; and, after many hours debate, what they propoſed for the preſent accuſing him was rejected, and a committee appointed to conſider of all particulars, which ſhould be preſented againſt him, upon reporting whereof to the houſe, it would give ſuch farther order as ſhould be juſt. The confident averment of ſo many particulars, and the ſo poſitively naming the particular ſums of money which he had received, with circumſtances not likely to be feigned; and eſpecially the mentioning of many things ſpoken in council, which they ſaid would be proved by privy-counſellors,

ſellors, and other particular advices given in private to the king himſelf, which they implied, and confidently affirmed in private, the king himſelf would acknowledge, made that impreſſion upon many, who had no ill opinion of the chancellor; and upon others, who had thought well of him, and had, in truth, kindneſs for him; that of both ſorts, ſeveral meſſages of advice were ſecretly ſent to him, that he would preſerve his life by making an eſcape, and tranſporting himſelf into foreign parts; for that it was not probable there would be ſo extreme and violent a proſecution, if they had not ſuch evidence againſt him as would compaſs their ends. To all which he anſwered, that he would not give his enemies that advantage as to fly from them; and, in the mean time, deſired his friends to retain the good opinion they had always had of him, until they heard ſomewhat proved that would make him unworthy of it, and then he would be well contented they ſhould withdraw it: and it appeared afterwards, that though ſome of his good friends had adviſed that he ſhould ſecure himſelf by flight, that it proceeded from the advertiſements that they had received through other hands, which came originally from his chiefeſt enemies, who deſired that he might appear to be guilty by avoiding a trial; and who confidently informed many men that the impeachment was ready, and had been peruſed by the king; and that his majeſty had with his hand ſtruck out an article that related to the queen's marriage, and another that concerned the marriage of the duke; but that there was enough left to do the buſineſs; and that the duke of Buckingham ſhould be made high ſteward for the trial. Theſe reports being ſpread abroad, wrought upon the duke to deſire the king, that he would let him know what he did intend, and whether he deſired to have the chancellor's life, or

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that he ſhould be condemned to perpetual impriſonment; to which his majeſty proteſted that he would have neither; but was well ſatisfied; and that he was reſolved to ſtop all further proſecution againſt him, which his majeſty likewiſe ſaid to many others. The duke then asked the king, whether the chancellor had ever given him council to govern by an army, or any thing like it, which he ſaid was ſo contrary to his humour, and to the profeſſions which he had always made, and the advices he had given him, that if he were guilty of it, he ſhould doubt his ſincerity in all other things. To which his majeſty anſwered, that he had never given him ſuch council in his life; but, on the contrary, his fault was, that he always inſiſted too much upon the law. Whereupon his royal highneſs asked him, whether he would give him leave to ſay ſo to others. And his majeſty replied with all his heart. The duke then told it to his ſecretary Mr. Wren, and to many other perſons, and wiſhed them to publiſh it upon any occaſion: upon which it was ſpread abroad, and Mr. Wren informed many of the members of the houſe of commons of all that had paſſed between the king and the duke in that diſcourſe; which ſo much diſheartened the violent proſecutors, that when the committee met, that was to preſent the heads of a charge againſt him to the houſe, no body appeared, ſo that they adjourned without doing any thing. Hereupon Sir Thomas Osborn, a dependant and creature of the duke of Buckingham, and who had told many perſons in the country before the parliament met, that the chancellor would be accuſed of high-treaſon; and, if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himſelf, this gentleman went to the king, and informed him what Mr. Wren confidently reported in all places, which very much diſſatisfied that party, that deſired to do him ſervice; ſo that

they knew not how to behave themſelves. To which his majeſty anſwered, that Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never had any ſuch diſcourſe with his brother. This gave them new courage, and they reſolved to call Mr. Wren to an account for traducing the king; and his majeſty expoſtulated with the duke for what Mr. Wren had ſo publickly diſcourſed; and his highneſs declared, that Mr. Wren had purſued his order, his majeſty having not only ſaid all that was reported, but had given him leave to divulge it. To which the king made no other anſwer, but that he ſhould be hereafter more careful what he ſaid to him.

All this begat new pauſes, and no advance made in many days, ſo that it was generally believed that there would be no further proſecution; but the old argument, that they were gone too far to retire, had now more force; becauſe many members of both houſes were now joined to the party, in declaring againſt the chancellor, who would think themſelves to be betrayed and deſerted, if no more ſhould be done againſt him. Whereupon the committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare heads for a charge, which ſat many days, there being little debate upon the matter; for ſuch of the committee, who knew him well, were ſo well pleaſed to find him accuſed of nothing, but what all the world did believe him not guilty of, thought they could not do him more right than to ſuffer all that was offered to paſs, ſince there appeared no perſon that offered to make proof of any particular that was ſuggeſted. But three or four members of the houſe brought ſeveral papers, containing particulars, which they ſaid would be proved: all which they reported to the houſe. The heads were, (1.) that the chancellor had traiterouſly, about the month of June laſt, adviſed the king to diſſolve the parliament,

ment, and ſaid there could be no further uſe of parliaments. That it was a fooliſh conſtitution, and not fit to govern by: And that it could not be imagined, that three or four hundred country gentlemen could be either prudent men or ſtateſmen. And that it would be beſt for the king to raiſe a ſtanding-army, and to govern by that. Whereupon it being demanded, how that army ſhould be maintained, he anſwered by contribution and free-quarter, as the laſt king maintained his army in the war. (2.) That he had, in the hearing of ſeveral perſons, reported that the king was a papiſt in his heart, or popiſhly affected, or had uſed words to that effect. (3.) That he had adviſed the king to grant a charter to the Canary company, for which he had received great ſums of money. (4) That he had raiſed great ſums of money by the ſale of offices, which ought not to be ſold, and granted injunctions to ſtop proceedings at law, and diſſolved them afterwards for money. (5.) That he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majeſty's plantations, and had cauſed ſuch as had complained to his majeſty and privy-council of it to be long impriſoned for their preſumption; and that he had protracted and rejected a propoſition that had been made for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, and for the reducing the French plantations to his majeſty's obedience. (6.) That he had cauſed Quo Warranto's to be iſſued out againſt moſt corporations in England, altho' their charters were newly confirmed by act of parliament, till they paid him good ſums of money, and then the Quo Warranto's were diſcharged. (7.) That he had received great ſums of money for the ſettlement of Ireland. (8.) That he had deluded the king, and betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties and negociations, eſpecially concerning the late war. (9.) That

he had procured his majeſty's cuſtoms to be farmed at under-rates, knowing them to be ſo, and cauſed many pretended debts to be paid by his majeſty, to the payment whereof his majeſty was not in ſtrictneſs bound, for all which he had received great ſums of money. (10.) That he had received bribes from the company of vintners, that they might continue the prices of the wines, and might be freed from the penalties which they were liable to. (11.) That he had raiſed in a ſhort time, a greater eſtate than could be lawfully got; and that he had got the grant of ſeveral of the crown lands, contrary to his duty. (12.) That he had adviſed and affected the ſale of Dunkirk to the French king for leſs money than the ammunition, artillery, and ſtores were worth. (13.) That he had cauſed the king's letters under the great ſeal, to one Dr. Crowther, to be altered, and the inrollment thereof to be raz'd. (14.) That had, in an arbitrary way, and examined into and queſtioned divers of his majeſty's ſubjects concerning their lands and properties, and determined thereof at the council table, and ſtop'd the proceedings at law, and threatened ſome that pleaded the ſtatute of 17 Car I. (15.) That he was a principal author of that fatal council of dividing the fleet in June 1662. The committee reported another article for his charge, which was, that he had kept correſpondence with Cromwell during the time of the king's being beyond the ſeas, had ſent over his ſecretary to him, who was ſhut up with him for many hours; but there were many members of the houſe who wiſhed it had been true, knew well enough that fooliſh calumny had been examined at Paris, during the time that his majeſty reſided there, when perſons of the higheſt degree were very deſirous to have kindled a jealouſy in the king of the chancellor's fidelity; and that the ſcandal

appeared

appeared ſo groſs and impoſſible, that his majeſty had then publiſhed a full vindication of his innocence, with a further declaration, that when it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him to his own dominions, he ſhould receive ſuch further juſtice and reparation, as the laws would enable him to procure. And it was well known to divers of the members then preſent, that the perſons who were ſuborned in that conſpiracy, had acknowledged it ſince the king's return; and the perſons themſelves, who had ſuborned them, had confeſſed and begged the chancellor's pardon; of all which his majeſty had been particularly and fully informed; and that it might be no more ripp'd up or looked into, they ſeemed to reject it as being included under the act of indemnity, which they would have left him to have pleaded for the infamy of it, if they had not very well known the groſſneſs of the ſcandal.

Tho' the fierceneſs of the malice that was contracted againſt him, was enough known and taken notice of, yet the heads for the charge, which, upon ſo much deliberation, were prepared and offered to the houſe againſt him, were of ſuch a nature, that all men preſent did in their own conſcience acquit him; and therefore it was generally believed the proſecutors would rather have acquieſced with what they had done to blaſt his reputation, than to have proceeded further to bring him to anſwer for himſelf. But they had gone too far to retire, and they who had firſt wrought upon the king only, by perſuading him that there was ſo univerſal a hatred againſt the chancellor, that the parliament would the firſt day accuſe him of high-treaſon; and that the removing him from his office was the only way to preſerve him, except he would in ſuch a conjuncture, and when he had ſo much need of the parliament, ſacrifice all

his

his intereſt for the protection of the chancellor; and this was the ſole motive that had prevailed with him, as his majeſty not only aſſured him the laſt time he ſpake with him, with many gracious expreſſions; but at large expreſſed it to very many perſons of honour, who endeavoured to diſſuade him from purſuing that council, that it was the only expedient for the chancellor's preſervation, with as fit a teſtimony of his integrity, and the ſervices he had done him, as could be given, the ſame men now importuned him to proſecute with all his power, and to let thoſe of his ſervants, and others who regarded his commands know, that they could not ſerve him and the chancellor together; and that he ſhould look upon their adhering to him, as the abandoning his majeſty's ſervice; that the chancellor had ſo great a faction in both houſes, that no propoſition on his majeſty's behalf would have an effect, and that he would ſhortly come to the houſe of peers, and obſtruct all proceedings there. This prevailed ſo far, that they reſumed their former courage, and preſſed that he might be accuſed by the houſe of commons of high-treaſon; upon which the lords would preſently commit him to the Tower; and then no body would have have any longer apprehenſion of his power to do hurt. Hereupon they reſolved again to conſider the ſeveral heads of the charge they had provided, to ſee if they could find any one upon which they could ground an accuſation of high-treaſon. They ſpent a whole day upon the firſt head, which they thought contained enough to do their work, it containing the moſt unpopular and ungracious reproach that any man could lie under: that he had deſigned a ſtanding-army to be raiſed, and to govern the kingdom thereby: that the adviſed the king to diſſolve the preſent parliament, to lay aſide all thoughts of

parlia-

parliaments for the future, to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution. The chancellor had been bred of the gown; and in the first war, in which the last king had been involved by a powerful rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all overtures towards peace. Since the king's return, he laboured nothing more, than that his majesty might enter into a firm peace with all his neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own dominions into that temper of subjection and obedience as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all men that he had most passionately dissuaded the war with Holland with much disadvantage to himself; and that no man had taken so much pains as he to bring the present peace to pass; which at that time was grateful to all degrees of men; and in a word, that he had no manner of interest or credit with the soldiers; but was looked upon by them all as an enemy to the privileges which they required, being exempted from the rules of justice; in which he always opposed them. But let the improbability of this charge be what it would, there were persons of the house who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the question was only, whether upon it they could charge him with an accusation of treason: and, after a debate of eight hours, it was declared by all the lawyers of the house, that how foul soever the charge seemed to be, yet it contained no high-treason; and, in that conclusion, they at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the accusation. But when the speaker directed the order to be drawn, that the earl of Clarendon should not be accused of high-treason; it was alledged, that the order was to relate only to that first head; some men declaring, that tho' that article had missed him, yet there

were

were others which would hit him, and ſo the night being come, the further debate was adjourned to another day.

When the day appointed came, in which interval all imaginable pains and arts were uſed by threats and promiſes to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be againſt the chancellor, or to be abſent at the next debate that concerned him, upon the reading the ſeveral other heads as they had been preſented from the committee, it appeared to all men, that tho' all that was alledged were proved, the whole would not amount to make him guilty of high-treaſon, and they got no ground by throwing aſperſions upon him upon the ſeveral arguments, which they did with extraordinary licenſe, who were known to be his enemies. For thereby other men, of much better reputations, and who had no relation to the chancellor, took occaſion to anſwer and contradict their calumnies, and to give him ſuch a teſtimony, as made him another man than they would have him underſtood to be; and their teſtimony had more credit, ſo that they declined the purſuit of that licenſe, and intended wholly the diſcovery of the treaſon, ſince no other accuſation would ſerve their turn. When they had examined all their ſtore, they pitch'd at laſt upon that head, that he had deluded and betrayed his majeſty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negociations relating to the late war. Which, when read and conſidered, it was ſaid in thoſe general expreſſions, there was not enough contained upon which they could accuſe him of high treaſon, except it were added, that being a privy-counſellor, he had diſcovered the king's ſecret counſels to the enemy; which was no ſooner ſaid, than a young confident man, the lord Vaughan, ſon to the earl of Carbery, a perſon of as ill a face as fame; his

looks

looks and his manners both extreme bad, asked for the paper, that had been presented from the committee, and with his own hand entered into that place those words, that being a privy-counsellor, he had discovered the king's secrets to the enemy, which no body could deny to be treason, would be positively and fully proved against him, and the rather, because no man believed it to be true, it was voted that they should impeach him of high-treason in the usual manner to the house of peers. Whereupon Mr. Seymour, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the lords, and at their bar he accused the earl of Clarendon of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors, and desired that he might be sequestered from that house, and his person secured: and, as soon as he was withdrawn, some of the lords moved that he might be sent for; and now the warmth that had been so long within the walls of the house of commons appeared in the house of peers. Many of the lords, who were not thought much inclined to the person of the chancellor, represented that the consequence of such a proceeding would reflect to the prejudice of every one of the peers, if upon a general accusation from the house of commons of high treason, without mentioning any particular, they should be obliged to commit any peer, any member that house should be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be removed from the body; which would be a greater disadvantage than the members of the house of commons were liable to; and therefore they advised, that they should for answer let the house of commons know, that they would not commit the earl of Clarendon, until some particular charge was exhibited against him. On the other side it was urged with much passion, that they ought to comply with the house

of commons, in ſatisfying their requeſts according to former precedents, and the caſe of the earl of Strafford; and ſome other caſes in that parliament were cited, which gave thoſe who were of another mind, opportunity to inveigh againſt that time and the accurſed precedents thereof, which had produced ſo many and great miſchiefs to the kingdom. They put them in mind that they had committed eleven biſhops at one time for high-treaſon, only that they might be removed from the houſe, whilſt a bill paſſed againſt their having votes any more in that houſe, which was no ſooner paſſed than they were ſet at liberty; which had brought great ſcandal and reproach upon the honour and juſtice of the parliament; that both thoſe bills for the attainder of the earl of Strafford, and for the excluding the biſhops out of the houſe of peers, ſtand at preſent repealed by the wiſdom and authority of this parliament. In a word, after many hours debate with much paſſion, either ſide adhering obſtinately to their opinion, no reſolution was taken, but the houſe adjourned without ſo much as putting the queſtion to the next day.

From the time of the parliament's coming together, and after the king's diſpleaſure was generally taken notice of, many of the chancellor's friends adviſed him to withdraw and tranſport himſelf into foreign parts; and ſome very near the king, and who were witneſſes of the very great diſpleaſure his majeſty every day expreſſed towards him, were of the ſame opinion. But he poſitively refuſed ſo to do, and reſolved to truſt to his innocence, which he was ſure muſt appear. The debate continued ſtill between the two houſes, which would entertain no other buſineſs. The houſe of commons, in frequent conferences, demanding the commitment of the chancellor, and the major part of the

house of peers, notwithstanding all the indirect prosecution and interposition from the court, remained as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy conjuncture, the duke of York, who expressed great affection and concern for the chancellor, fell sick of the small-pox, which proved of great disadvantage to him. For not only many of the peers, who were before restrained by their respect to him, and supported by his countenance in the debates, either changed their minds or absented themselves from the house; but the general, who had always professed great friendship to the chancellor (who had deserved very well from him) and had endeavoured to dissuade the king from withdrawing his favour from him with all possible importunity, was now changed by the unruly humour of his wife, and the frequent instances of the king, and made it his business to sollicit and dispose the members of both houses, with many of whom he had great credit, no longer to adhere to the chancellor, since the king resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his friends as enemies to his majesty. Notwithstanding all which, the major part by much of the house of peers continued still firm against his commitment, with which the king was so offended, that there were secret consultations of sending a guard of soldiers, by the general's authority, to take the chancellor out of his house, and to send him to the tower, whither directions were already sent what lodgings he should have, and caution given to the lieutenant of the tower, who was thought to have too much respect for the chancellor, that he should not treat him with more civility than he did other prisoners. He had many friends of the council and near the king, who advertised him of those and all other intrigues, and thereupon renewed their importunity that he would

make his escape: and some of them undertook to know, and without question did believe, that his withdrawing would be grateful to the king, who every day grew more incensed against him, for the obstinacy which his friends in both houses expressed on his behalf. They urged the ill condition he must in a short time be reduced to, wherein his innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his enemies had no purpose or thought of bringing him to a trial, but to keep him always in prison, which they would in the end, one way or other, bring to pass. Whereas he might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other inconveniences: and they undertook to know that, if he were gone, there would be no further proceeding against him. There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent argument used towards his withdrawing than that of a prison, the thought and apprehension whereof was more grievous than that of death itself, which he was confident would quickly be the effect of the other. However he very resolutely refused to follow their advice, and urged to them the advantage he should give his enemies and the dishonour he should bring upon himself by flying, in having his integrity condemned; and if he had not the confidence to defend it, he said, he could not appear, wherever he should be required, with an honest countenance and the courage of an innocent man: but if he should be apprehended in a disguise running away, which he could not but expect by the vigilance of his enemies, since he could not make any journey by land, being at that time very weak and infirm, he should be very much out of countenance, and should be exposed to public scorn and contempt; and if he should make his escape into foreign parts, it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine, that his enemies, who had so far

alienated

alienated the king's affections from him, and in ſpight of his innocence prevailed thus far, would want power to proſecute the advantage they ſhould get by his flight, which would be interpreted as a confeſſion of his guilt; and thereupon they would procure ſuch proceedings in the parliament as might ruin both his fortune and his fame. His friends, how unſatisfied ſoever with his reſolution, acquieſced for the preſent, after having firſt prevailed with him to write himſelf to the king; which he did, though without any hope that it would make any impreſſion upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what fountain, except the power of the great lady with the conjunction of his known enemies, which had been long without that effect, that fierceneſs of his majeſty's diſpleaſure could proceed. He had, before this ſtorm fell upon him, been informed by a perſon of honour, who knew the truth of it, that ſome perſons had perſuaded the king, that the chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the duke of Richmond, with which his majeſty was offended in the higheſt degree; and the lord Berkeley had reported it with all confidence. Whereupon the chancellor had expoſtulated with the lord Berkeley, whom he knew to be his ſecret enemy, though no man made more outward profeſſions to him, but he denied he had reported any ſuch thing; and then he took notice to the king himſelf of the diſcourſe, and deſired to know whether any ſuch ſtory had been repreſented to his majeſty, ſince there was not the leaſt ſhadow of truth in it. To which the king anſwered, with ſome dryneſs, that no ſuch thing had been told to him; yet now he was aſſured that that buſineſs ſtuck moſt with his majeſty, and that from that ſuggeſtion, his enemies had gotten credit to do him the worſt offices; and his majeſty

complained

complained much of the insolence with which he used to treat him, in the agitation and debate of business, if he differed from him in opinion. Upon these reasons he wrote this letter in his own hand to the king, which was delivered to him by the lord-keeper, who was willing to perform that office. The letter was in these words:

May it please your majesty,

"I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The crimes which are objected against me, how passionately soever pursued, and with circumstances very unusual, do not in the least degree fright me. God knows, I am innocent in every particular, as I ought to be, and I hope your majesty knows enough of me to believe that I had never a violent appetite for money that could corrupt me. But alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation, deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies, whom I have sometimes displeased, when, and only when, your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope they may be changed, I am sure I am not, but have the same duty, passion, and affection for you that I had, when you thought it most unquestionable, and which was, and is as great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almightly would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure, which I am sure must proceed from your believing that I have said or done somewhat that I have neither said or done. If it be for any

thing

thing my lord Berkeley hath reported, which I know he hath ſaid to many, tho' being charged with it by me, he did as poſitively diſclaim it, I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice, or counſel, or countenance in it than the child that is now unborn; which your majeſty ſeemed once to believe, when I took notice to you of the report; and when you conſidered how totally I was a ſtranger to the perſons mentioned, to either of whom I never ſpake word, or received meſſage from in my life; and this I proteſt to your majeſty is true, as I have hope in heaven, and that I have never wilfully offended your majeſty in my life; and do upon my knees beg your pardon for any over bold or ſaucy expreſſions I have ever uſed to you; which being a natural diſeaſe in old ſervants, who have received too much countenance, I am ſure hath always proceeded from the zeal and warmth of the moſt ſincere affection and duty.

I hope your majeſty believes, that the ſharp chaſtiſement I have received from the beſt-natured and moſt bountiful maſter in the world, and whoſe kindneſs alone made my condition theſe many years ſupportable, hath enough mortified me as to this world; and that I have not the preſumption or the madneſs to imagine or deſire ever to be admitted to any employment or truſt again; but I do moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, by the memory of your father, who recommended me to you with ſome teſtimony, and by your own gracious reflection upon ſome one ſervice, I may have performed in my life that hath been acceptable to you, that you will by your royal power and interpoſition put a ſtop to this ſevere proſecution againſt me; and that my concernment may give no longer interruption to the great affairs of the kingdom, but that I may ſpend the ſmall remainder

mainder in my life, which cannot hold long in ſome parts beyond the ſeas, never to return, where I will pray for your majeſty, and never ſuffer the leaſt diminution in the duty and obedience of,

May it pleaſe your MAJESTY,

From my houſe, this 16th of November.

your Majeſty's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant,

CLARENDON."

The king was in his cabinet when the letter was delivered to him. Which, as ſoon as he read, he burnt in a candle that was on the table, and only ſaid, that there was ſomewhat in it that he did not underſtand, but that he wonder'd the chancellor did not withdraw himſelf; of which the keeper preſently advertiſed him with his earneſt advice that he would be gone. The king's diſcourſe was according to the perſons with whom he conferred; to thoſe, who were engaged in the violent proſecution, he ſpake with great bitterneſs of him, repeating many particular paſſages, in which he had ſhewed much paſſion, becauſe his majeſty did not concur with him in what he adviſed. To thoſe, who he knew were his friends, he mentioned him without any bitterneſs, and with ſome teſtimony of his having ſerved him long and uſefully, and as if he had pity and compaſſion for him; yet that he wonder'd that he did not abſent himſelf, ſince it could not but be very manifeſt to him and to all his friends, that it was not in his majeſty's power to protect him againſt the prejudice that was againſt him in both houſes, which he ſaid could not but be increaſed by

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the obſtruction his particular concernment gave to all publick affairs in this conjuncture; in which he ſaid he was ſure he would prevail at laſt.

All theſe advertiſements could not prevail over the chancellor for the reaſon mentioned before, tho' he was much afflicted at the diviſion between the two houſes; the evil conſequence whereof he well underſtood, and could have been well content that the lords would have conſented to his impriſonment. The biſhop of Hereford, who had been very much obliged to the chancellor, and throughout this whole affair had behaved himſelf with very ſignal ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the court, went to the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was known to be a faſt and unſhaken friend to the chancellor, and made him a long diſcourſe of what the king had ſaid to him, and deſired him that he would go with him to his houſe, which he preſently did; and leaving him in a room, went himſelf to the chancellor, and told him what had paſſed from the biſhop of Hereford, who was in the next room to ſpeak with him; but would not, in direct words to him, acknowledge that he ſpake by the king's order or approbation, but that he had confeſſed ſo much to him with many circumſtances; and that the lord Arlington and Mr. Coventry had been preſent. The chancellor had no mind to ſee or ſpeak with the biſhop who had carried himſelf ſo unworthily towards him, and might probably miſreport any thing he ſhould ſay; but he was over-ruled by the other biſhop, and ſo they went both into the next room to him. The biſhop of Hereford in ſome diſorder, as a man conſcious to himſelf of ſome want of ſincerity towards him, deſired that he would believe, that he would not at that time have come to him, with whom he knew he was in

ſome umbrage, if it were not with a deſire to do him ſervice; and if he had not a full authority for whatſoever he ſaid to him. Then he enlarged himſelf in diſcourſe more involved and perplexed, without any mention of the king, or the authority he had for what he ſhould ſay, the care to avoid which was evidently the cauſe of want of clearneſs in all he ſaid. But the biſhop of Wincheſter ſupplied it by relating all that he had ſaid to him, with which tho' he was not pleaſed, becauſe the king and others were named, yet he did not contradict it; but ſaid he did not ſay that he was ſent by the king, or ſpake by his direction, only that he could not be ſo mad as to interpoſe in ſuch an affair without full authority to make good all that he ſhould promiſe. The ſum of all was, that if the chancellor would withdraw himſelf into any parts beyond the ſeas to prevent the miſchiefs that muſt befal the kingdom, by the diviſion and difference between the two houſes, he would undertake upon his ſalvation (which was the expreſſion he uſed more than once) that he ſhould not be interrupted in his journey; and that, after he ſhould be gone, he ſhould not be in any degree proſecuted, or ſuffer in his honour, or fortune by his abſence. The chancellor told him, that he well underſtood what he muſt ſuffer by withdrawing himſelf, and ſo declining the trial in which his innocence would ſecure him, and in the mean time, preſerve him from being terrified by the threats and malice of his enemies: however, he would expoſe himſelf to that diſadvantage, if he received his majeſty's commands to that purpoſe; or if he had but a clear evidence, that his majeſty did wiſh it as a thing that he thought might advance his ſervice, but without that aſſurance, which he might receive in

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any ways which could not be taken notice of, he could not with his honour or diſcretion give his implacable enemies that advantage againſt him, when his friends ſhould be able to alledge nothing in his defence. The biſhop replied, that he was not allowed to ſay, that his majeſty required or wiſh'd it; but that he could not be ſo mad as to undertake what he had promiſed without ſufficient warrant, and repeated again what he had formerly ſaid: to which the other anſwered, that the vigilance and power of his enemies was well known; and that though the king might, in truth, wiſh that he were ſafe on the other ſide of the ſea, and give them no direction to interrupt or trouble him in his journey; yet, that it was liable to ſo many accidents in reſpect of his weakneſs and infirmity, which was ſo great at that time, that he could not walk without being ſupported by one or two, ſo that he could not be diſguiſed to any body that had ever known him; beſides, that the pain he was already in, and the ſeaſon of the year made him apprehend, that the gout might ſo ſeize upon him within two or three days, that he might not be able to move; and ſo the malice of thoſe, who wiſhed his deſtruction, might very probably find an opportunity without or againſt the king's conſent, to apprehend and caſt him into priſon, as a fugitive from the land of juſtice. For the prevention of all which, which no man could blame him for apprehending, he propoſed that he might have a paſs from the king, which he would produce, but in ſuch an exigence, and would uſe all the providence he could to proceed with that ſecreſy, that his departure ſhould not be taken notice of; but if it were, he muſt not be without ſuch a protection, to preſerve him from the preſent indignities to which he muſt be liable, tho'

poſſibly it would not protect him from the diſpleaſure of the parliament. The biſhop thought this propoſition to be reaſonable, and ſeemed confident that he ſhould procure the paſs, and ſo that conference ended.

The next day the biſhop ſent word that the king could not grant the paſs; becauſe, if it ſhould be known by what accident ſoever, it would much incenſe the parliament; but that he might as ſecurely go as if he had a paſs, which moved not further with him than his former undertaking had done; nor could the importunity of his children, or the advice of his friends, perſuade him to depart from his reſolution. About the time of the chancellor's diſgrace, Monſieur Rouvigny arrived at London, as envoy extraordinary from the French king; and came the next day after the ſeal was taken from him. He was a perſon well known in the court, and particularly to the chancellor, with whom he had been formerly aſſigned to treat upon affairs of moment, being of the religion, and very nearly allied to the late earl of Southampton; and as theſe conſiderations were the chief motives that he had made choice of for the preſent employment; ſo the chief part of his inſtructions was to apply himſelf to the chancellor, through whoſe hands it was known that the whole treaty, that was now happily concluded, and all the preliminaries with France had intirely paſt.

When he found that the conduct of affairs was quite changed, and that the chancellor came not to the court, he knew not what to do, but immediately diſpatched an expreſs to France for further inſtructions. He deſired to ſpeak with the chancellor, which he refuſed, and likewiſe to receive the letters which he had brought for him, and offered

fered to ſend to him; all which he deſired might be delivered to the king. When the proceedings in parliament went ſo high, Rouvigny, who had at all hours admiſſion to the king, and intimate converſation with the lord Arlington, and ſo eaſily diſcovered the extreme prejudice and malice that was contracted againſt the chancellor, he ſent him frequent advertiſements of what was neceſſary for him to know, and with all poſſible earneſtneſs adviſed him, when the diviſions grew ſo high in the houſes, that he would withdraw and retire into France, where he aſſured him he would find himſelf very welcome. All which prevailed no more with him than the reſt; and ſo another week paſſed after the biſhop's propoſition with the ſame paſſion in the houſes, and endeavours were uſed to incenſe the people, as if the lords obſtructed the proceedings of juſtice againſt the chancellor, by refuſing to commit him: and Mr. Seymour told the lord Aſhley, that the people would pull down the chancellor's houſe firſt, and then thoſe of all the lords who adhered to him. By this time the duke of York recovered ſo faſt, that the king being aſſured by the phyſicians that there could be no danger of infection, went on Saturday morning the 29th of November to viſit him; and being alone together, his majeſty bade him adviſe the chancellor to be gone, and blamed him that he had not given credit to what the biſhop of Hereford had ſaid to him. The king had no ſooner left the duke, but his highneſs ſent for the biſhop of Wincheſter, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him ſpeedily to be gone; and that he had the king's word for all that had been undertaken by the biſhop of Hereford. As ſoon as the chancellor received this advice and command, he reſolved with great reluctance to obey, and to be gone that very night;

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and having, by the friendſhip of Sir John Wolſtenholme, cauſed the farmer's boat to wait for him at Erith; as ſoon as it was dark he took coach at his houſe, Saturday-night, the 29th of November, 1667, with two ſervants only; and being accompanied with his two ſons and two or three friends on horſeback, as far as Erith, he found the boat ready, and ſo embarked about eleven of the clock that night, the wind indifferently good; but before midnight it changed, and carried him back almoſt as far as he had advanced; and in this perplexity he remained three days and nights before he arrived at Calais, which was not a port choſen by him, all places out of England being indifferent, and France not being in his inclination, becauſe of the reproach and calumny that was caſt upon him. But ſince it was the firſt that offered itſelf, and it was not ſeaſonable to affect another, he was very glad to diſembark there, and to find himſelf ſafe on ſhore.

All theſe particulars, many of which ſeem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought neceſſary to be related, it being a principal part of his vindication for going away, and not inſiſting upon his innocence, which, at that time, made a greater impreſſion upon many worthy perſons to his diſadvantage, than any particular that was contained in the charge that had been offered to the houſe; and therefore, though he forbore, when all the promiſes were broken which had been made to him, and his enemies malice and inſolence increaſed by his abſence, to publiſh, or in the leaſt degree to communicate the true ground and reaſons of abſenting himſelf, to avoid any inconvenience, that in ſo captious a ſeaſon, might thereby have befallen the king's ſervice; yet it cannot be thought unreaſonable to preſerve this memorial of all the circumſtances, as well as the ſubſtantial

ſtantial reaſons which diſpoſed him to make that flight, for the clear information of thoſe who in a fit ſeaſon may underſtand his innocence, without any inconvenience to his majeſty; of whoſe goodneſs and honour and juſtice, it may be hoped that his majeſty will give his own teſtimony, both of this particular of his withdrawing, and a vindication of his innocence from all the other reproaches with which it was aſperſed. I will not omit one other particular, for the manifeſtation of the inequality that was between the nature of the chancellor and of his enemies, and upon what diſadvantages he was to contend with them. Before the meeting of the parliament, when it was well known that the combination was entered into by the lord Arlington and Sir William Coventry againſt the chancellor, ſeveral members of the houſe informed him of what they did and what they ſaid, and told him that there was but one way to prevent the prejudice intended towards him, which was by falling firſt upon them, which they would cauſe to be done, if he would aſſiſt them with ſuch infomrations as it could not but be in his power to do: that they were both very odious generally, the one for his inſolent carriage towards all men, and for the manner of getting into that office, by diſpoſeſſing an old faithful ſervant, who was forced to part with it for a very good recompenſe of ten thouſand pounds in money, and other releaſes and grants; which was paid and made by the king, to introduce a ſecretary of very mean parts, and without induſtry to improve them; and one who was generally ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, or without any religion at all, it being generally taken notice of, that he was rarely ſeen in a church, and never known to receive the communion. The other was known by his corrupt behaviour, and ſelling all the offices in the fleet and navy, for incredible

ble ſums of money, and thereby introducing men who had been moſt employed and truſted by Cromwell, into the ſeveral offices, whilſt loyal and faithful ſeamen, who had always adhered to the king, and many of them continued in his ſervice abroad and till his return into England, could not be admitted into any employment; the ill conſequence of which to the king's ſervice was very notorious, by the daily manifeſt ſtealing and imbezzling the ſtores of ammunition, cordage, ſails, and other tackling, which was commonly ſold again to the king at great prices; and when the perſons guilty of this were taken notice of and apprehended, they talked loudly of the ſums they had paid for their offices, which obliged them to thoſe frauds; and that it might not be more notorious, they were, by Sir William Coventry's great power and intereſt, never proceeded againſt or removed from their offices and employments. They told him that he never ſaid or did any thing in the moſt ſecret council, where they two were always preſent, and where there was frequent occaſion of mentioning the proceedings of of both houſes, and the behaviour of ſeveral members in both but thoſe gentlemen declared the ſame, and all that he ſaid or did to thoſe who would be moſt offended and incenſed by it, and who were like, in ſome conjuncture, to be able to do him moſt miſchief. And by thoſe ill arts they had irreconciled many perſons to him; and that if he would now, without its being poſſible to be taken notice of, give them ſuch information and light into the proceedings of thoſe gentlemen, they would undertake to divert the ſtorm that threatened him, and cauſe it to fall upon the others. And this was not only with much earneſtneſs preſſed to him before the meeting of the parliament, and when he

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was fully informed of the ill arts and ungentlemanlike practice thoſe two perſons were engaged in to do him hurt, but after the houſe of commons was incenſed againſt him; with a full aſſurance that they were much inclined to have accuſed the other two, if the leaſt occaſion was given for it. But the chancellor would not be prevailed with, ſaying, that provocation or example ſhould not diſpoſe him to do a thing that did not become him: that they were both privy-counſellors, and truſted by the king in his moſt weighty affairs; and if he diſcerned any thing amiſs in them, he could inform the king of it; but the aſperſing or accuſing them any where elſe, was not his part to do; nor could it be done without ſome reflection upon the king and duke, who would be much offended at it. And therefore he adviſed them, in no degree, to make any ſuch attempt on his behalf, but to leave him to the protection of his own innocence and of God's good pleaſure, and thoſe gentlemen to their own fate, which at ſome time would humble them. And it is known to many perſons, and poſſibly to the king himſelf, for whoſe ſervice only that office was performed, that one or both of thoſe perſons had, before that time, been impeached, if the chancellor's ſole induſtry and intereſt had not diverted and prevented it.

When the chancellor found it neceſſary, for the reaſons aforeſaid, to withdraw himſelf, he thought it as neceſſary to leave ſome addreſs to the houſe of peers, and to make as good an excuſe as he could for his abſence, without aſking their leave, which ſhould be delivered to them by ſome member of their body, there being many of them ready to perform that civil office for him, when his abſence ſhould be known, or ſome evidence that he was ſafely arrived on the other ſide of the ſea; and that time being come for the

packet-boat was ready to depart, when the chancellor landed at Calais) the earl of Denbigh ſaid he had an addreſs to the houſe from the earl of Clarendon, which he deſired might be read, which contained theſe words:

To the right honourable the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled.

The humble petition and addreſs of Edward Earl of CLARENDON.

" May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

I cannot expreſs the inſupportable trouble and grief of mind I ſuſtain under the apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented to your lordſhips; and when I hear how much of your lordſhips time hath been ſpent upon my poor concern (tho' it be of no leſs than of my life and fortune) and of the differences in opinion, which have already or may probably ariſe between your lordſhips and the honourable houſe of commons, whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obſtructed in a time of ſo general a diſſatisfaction.

I am very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer ſo much under two very diſadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me; the firſt, from the greatneſs of my eſtate and fortune, collected and made in ſo few years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reaſonably cauſe my integrity to be ſuſpected; the ſecond, that I have been the ſole manager and chief miniſter in all the tranſactions of ſtate ſince the king's return into England to Auguſt laſt, and therefore that all miſcarriages and

and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and my councils.

Concerning my eſtate, your lordſhips will not believe, that after malice and envy hath been ſo inquiſitive, and is ſo ſharp-ſighted, I will offer any thing to your lordſhips but what is exactly true; and I do aſſure your lordſhips, in the firſt place, that excepting from the king's bounty, I have never received or taken one penny, but what was generally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful perquiſites of my office, by the conſtant practice of the beſt times, which I did in my own judgment conceive to be that of my lord Coventry and my lord Elleſmere; the practice of which I conſtantly obſerved, altho' the office in both their times was lawfully worth double to what it is to me, and I believe now is.

That all the courteſies and favours which I have been able to obtain from the king for other perſons in church or ſtate, or in Weſtminſter-hall, have never been worth to me five pounds; ſo that your lordſhips may be confident I am as innocent from corruption as from any diſloyal thought; which, after near thirty years ſervice of the crown in ſome difficulties and diſtreſſes, I did never ſuſpect would have been objected to me in my age.

That I am at preſent indebted about three or four and twenty thouſand pounds, for which I pay intereſt, the particulars whereof I ſhall be ready to offer to your lordſhips, and for which I have aſſigned lands and leaſes to be ſold, tho' at preſent no body will buy or ſell with me, that I am ſo far from having money, that from the time the ſeal was taken from me, I have lived upon the coining ſome ſmall parcels of plate, which have ſuſtained me and my family, all my rents being withheld from me.

That my eſtate, my debts being paid, will not yield me two thouſand pounds per annum, for the ſupport of myſelf, and providing for two young children who have nothing; and that all I have is not worth what the king in his bounty hath beſtowed upon me; his majeſty having, out of his royal bounty, within few months after his coming into England, at one time beſtowed upon me twenty thouſand pounds in ready money, without the leaſt motion or imagination of mine; and ſhortly after another ſum of money amounting to 6000 l. or thereabouts, out of Ireland, and which ought to have amounted to a much greater proportion, and of which I never heard, till notice was given me by the earl of Orrery, that there was ſuch a ſum of money for me. His majeſty likewiſe aſſigned me after the firſt year of his return an annual ſupply towards my ſupport, which did but defray my expences, the certain profits of my office not amounting to above 2000 l. a year or thereabouts, and the perquiſites not very conſiderable, and very uncertain; ſo that the ſaid ſeveral ſums of money, and ſome parcels of land his majeſty beſtowed upon me, are worth more than all I have amounts to, ſo far am I from advancing my eſtate by any indirect means; and tho' the bounty of his majeſty hath very far exceeded my merit or expectation, yet ſome others have been as fortunate at leaſt in the ſame bounty, who had as ſmall pretences to it, and have no great reaſon to envy my good fortune.

Concerning the other imputation of the credit and power of being the chief miniſter, and ſo cauſing all to be done that I had a mind to. I have no more to ſay, than that I had the good fortune to ſerve a maſter of a very great judgment and underſtanding to be always joined with perſons of great ability and experience, without whoſe advice and

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concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majeſty's coming into England, he was conſtantly attended by the then marquis of Ormond, the late lord Colepeper and Mr. ſecretary Nicholas, who were equally truſted with myſelf, and without whoſe joint advice and concurrence, when they were all preſent (as ſome of them always were) I never gave any council.

As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his majeſty into England, he eſtabliſhed his privy-council, and ſhortly out of them a number of honourable perſons of great reputation, who for the moſt part are ſtill alive, as a committee for foreign affairs, and conſideration of ſuch things, as in the nature of them required much ſecreſy; and with theſe perſons he vouchſafed to join me; and I am confident this committee never tranſacted any thing of moment, his majeſty being always preſent, without preſenting the ſame firſt to the council-board, and I muſt appeal to them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind in all matters of importance. For more than two years I never knew any difference in the councils, or that there were any complaints in the kingdom, which I wholly impute to his majeſty's great wiſdom, and the intire concurrence of his council, without the vanity of aſſuming any thing to myſelf, and therefore I ſhall not be ſingly charged with any thing that hath ſince fallen out amiſs. But from the time Mr. ſecretary Nicholas was removed from his place, there were great alterations; and whoſoever knows any thing of the court or councils, knew well how much my credit ſince that time hath been diminiſh'd (tho' his majeſty moſt graciouſly vouchſafed ſtill to hear my advice in moſt of his affairs) nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two perſons brought into the council, or preferred

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to any conſiderable office in the court, who have been of my intimate acquaintance, or ſuſpected to have any kindneſs for me, and many of them notoriouſly known to have been very long my enemies, and of different judgment and principles from me both in church and ſtate, and who have taken all opportunities to leſſen my credit to the king, and with all other perſons, by miſrepreſenting and miſreporting all that I ſaid or did, and perſuading men, that I had done them ſome prejudice with his majeſty, or croſſed them in ſome of their pretences, tho' his majeſty's goodneſs and juſtice was ſuch, that it made little impreſſion upon him.

In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to which it is notoriouſly known that I was always moſt averſe, and may without vanity ſay, that I did not only foreſee, but did declare the miſchiefs we ſhould run into by entring into a war before any alliance made with the neighbour princes; and that it may not be imputed to his majeſty's want of care, or the negligence of his counſellors, that no ſuch alliances were entered into, I muſt take the boldneſs to ſay, that his majeſty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto; and knowing very well that France reſolved to begin a war upon Spain as ſoon as his catholic majeſty ſhould depart this world, which being much ſooner expected by him, they had two winters before been at great charge in providing plentiful magazines of all proviſions upon the frontiers, that they might be ready for the war, his majeſty uſed all poſſible means to prepare and diſpoſe the Spaniard to that apprehenſion, offering his friendſhip to that degree, as might be for the ſecurity and benefit of both crowns. But Spain flattering itſelf with an opinion that France would

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not break with them, at leaſt that they would not give them any cauſe by adminiſtering matter of jealouſy to them, never made any real approach towards a friendſhip with his majeſty; but both by their embaſſador here, and to his majeſty's embaſſador at Madrid, always inſiſted as preliminaries upon the giving up of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Tho' France had an embaſſador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the lord Hollis, his majeſty's embaſſador at Paris uſed all endeavours to promote and proſecute the ſaid treaty, yet it was quickly diſcerned, that the principal deſign of France was to draw his majeſty into ſuch a nearer alliance, as might advance their deſigns; without which they had no mind to enter into the treaty propoſed; and this was the ſtate of affairs, when the war was entered into with the Dutch, from which time neither crown much conſidered their making an alliance with England.

As I did from my ſoul abhor the entering into this war, ſo I never preſumed to give any advice or council for the way of managing it, but by oppoſing many propoſitions, which ſeemed to the late lord treaſurer and myſelf to be unreaſonable, as the payment of the ſeamen by tickets, and many other particulars which added to the expence. My enemies took all occaſions to inveigh againſt me; and making friendſhip with others out of the council, of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I diſliked and complained of the liberty they took to themſelves of reviling all counſels and counſellors; and turning all things ſerious and ſacred into ridicule, they took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all ſorts of men (whom I ſhall be compelled to name in my own defence) perſuading thoſe who miſcarried in any of their deſigns,

ſigns, that it was the chancellor's doings, whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the king's favour from me, who was ſtill pleaſed to uſe my ſervice with others; nor was there ever any thing done, but upon the joint advice of at leaſt the major part of thoſe who were conſulted with. And as his majeſty commanded my ſervice in the late treaties, ſo I never gave the leaſt advice in private, nor wrote one letter to any perſon in either of thoſe negociations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council, or at leaſt by the king himſelf and ſome others; and if I prepared any inſtructions or memorials, it was by the king's command, and at the requeſt of the ſecretaries, who deſired my aſſiſtance. Nor was it any wiſh of my own, that any ambaſſador ſhould give me an account of the tranſactions, but to the ſecretary, with whom I was always ready to adviſe. Nor am I conſcious to myſelf of having ever given advice that hath proved miſchievous or inconvenient to his majeſty; and I have been ſo far from being the ſole manager of affairs, that I have not in the whole laſt year been above twice with his majeſty in any room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three years preceding; and ſince the parliament at Oxford, it hath been viſible that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to, which have been propoſed by me, but contradicted, eo nomine, by me.

I moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips to remember the office and truſt I had for ſeven years, in which in diſcharge of my duty I was obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many men's pretences, and to refuſe to ſet the ſeal to many pardons and other grants, which would have been profitable to thoſe who procured them, and many whereof upon my repreſentation to his majeſty were for ever ſtopt, which naturally have

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raiſed many enemies to me, and my frequent concurring with the late lord-treaſurer (with whom I had the honour to have a long and a faſt friendſhip to his death) in repreſenting ſeveral exceſſes and exorbitances the yearly iſſues ſo far exceeding the revenue, provoked many perſons concerned of great power and credit to do me all the ill offices they could; and yet I may faithfully ſay, that I never meddled with any part of the revenue or the adminiſtration of it; but when I was deſired by the late lord-treaſurer to give him my aſſiſtance and advice (having had the honour formerly to ſerve the crown as chancellor of the Exchequer) which was for the moſt part in his majeſty's preſence, in which my opinion always concurred with the major part of the counſellors who were preſent. All which, upon examination will be made manifeſt to your lordſhips, how much ſoever my integrity is blaſted by the malice of thoſe, who, I am confident do not believe themſelves. Nor have I, in my life, upon all the treaties, or otherwiſe received the value of one ſhilling from all the kings and princes in the world (except the books of the Louvre print ſent me by the chancellor of France by that king's direction, but from my own maſter, to whoſe entire ſervice, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted.

This being my preſent condition, I do moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips to retain a favourable opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from thoſe foul aſperſions, until the contrary ſhall be proved, which I am ſure can never be, by any man worthy to be believed; and, ſince the diſtemper of the time, and the difference between the two houſes in the preſent debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out that they ſhall prevail with

his majeſty to prorogue or diſſolve this parliament in diſpleaſure, and threaten to expoſe me to the rage and fury of the people, may make me be looked upon as the cauſe which obſtructs the king's ſervice, and the unity and peace of the kingdom. I moſt humbly beſeech your lordſhips that I may not forfeit your lordſhips favour and protection, by withdrawing myſelf from ſo powerful a perſecution, in hopes I may be able, by ſuch withdrawing, hereafter to appear and make my defence, when his majeſty's juſtice, to which I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed, or controul'd by the power of thoſe who have ſworn my deſtruction."

The chancellor knew very well, that there were members enough in both houſes, who would be very glad to take any advantage of his words and expreſſions, and therefore as he weighed them the beſt he could himſelf in the ſhort time from which he took his reſolution to be gone; ſo he conſulted with as many friends as that time would allow; to the end that their jealouſy and warineſs might better watch, that no expreſſion might be liable to a ſiniſter interpretation, than his own paſſion and indiſpoſition could provide; and they all thought it neceſſary that he ſhould leave ſomewhat behind him that might offer an excuſe for his abſence, ſo they did not conceive that the words before-mentioned could give any offence to equal judges: but the leaſt variety, or change of wind, moved thoſe waters to wonderful diſtempers and tempeſts. This addreſs was no ſooner read, by which they perceived he was gone; but they who had contributed moſt to the abſenting himſelf, and were privy to all the promiſes which had invited him to it, ſeemed much troubled that he had eſcaped their juſtice; and moved, that orders might be forthwith ſent to

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ſtop the ports, that ſo he might be apprehended, when they well knew that he was landed at Calais. Others took exceptions at ſome expreſſions, which they ſaid reflected upon the king's honour and juſtice, and moved that it might be entered in their journal-book, to the end that they might further conſider of it, when they ſhould think fit, and was ordered. The houſes till this had continued obſtinate in their ſeveral reſolutions, the commons every day preſſing that he might be committed upon their general accuſation (for tho' they had amongſt themſelves, and from their committee offered thoſe particulars which are mentioned before, yet they preſented none to the houſe of peers) and the lords as poſitively refuſing to commit him, till ſome charge ſhould be preſented againſt him, that amounted to treaſon. But now all that debate was at an end by his being out of their reach, ſo that they purſued that point no further; which being matter of privilege, ſhould have been determined as neceſſarily as before, for the prevention of the like diſputes hereafter. But the commons wiſely declined that contention, well knowing that their party in the houſe, that was very paſſionate for the commitment of the chancellor would be as much againſt the general order, as any of the reſt had been; and the lords ſatisfied themſelves with ſending a meſſage to the houſe of commons, that they found by the addreſs, which they had received that morning, and which they likewiſe imparted to them, that the earl of Clarendon had withdrawn himſelf; and ſo there was no further occaſion of debate upon that point. The debate was no ſooner read in that houſe, but they, who had induſtriouſly promoted the former reaſon, were inflamed, as if this very inſtrument would contribute enough to any thing, that was wanting;

and they ſeverally arraigned it, and inveighed againſt the perſon who had ſent it, with all imaginable bitterneſs and inſolence; whilſt others, who could not in the hearing it read, obſerve that malignity that it was accuſed of, ſat ſtill and ſilent, as if they ſuſpected that ſomewhat had eſcaped their obſervation and diſcovery, that ſo much tranſported other men; or becauſe they were well pleaſed that a perſon againſt whom there was ſo much malice and fury profeſſed was got out of their reach. In concluſion, after long debate it was concluded, that the paper contained much untruth, and ſcandal and ſedition in it; and that it ſhould be publickly burnt by the hand of the hangman, which vote they preſently ſent to the lords for their concurrence, who, tho' they had not obſerved any ſuch guilt in it before, would maintain no farther conteſts with them, and ſo concurred in the ſentence, and the poor paper was accordingly with ſolemnity executed by the appointed officer, which made the more people inquiſitive into the contents of it, and having gotten copies of it, took upon them to cenſure the thing and the perſon with much more clemency and compaſſion, and thought he had done well to decline ſuch angry judges.

When the chancellor found himſelf at Calais, he was unreſolved how to diſpoſe of himſelf, only that he would not go to Paris, againſt which he was able to make many objections; and in this irreſolution he knew not how to ſend any directions to his children in England, to what place they ſhould ſend his ſervants, and ſuch other accommodations as he ſhould want; and therefore ſtaid there till he might be better informed, and know ſomewhat of the temper of the parliament. In the mean time he wrote letters to the earl of St. Alban's at Paris, from whoſe very late profeſſions

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he had reaſon to expect civility; and that was all he did expect, never imagining that he ſhould receive any grace from the queen; or that it was fit for him to caſt himſelf at her feet, whilſt he was in his majeſty's diſpleaſure; only he deſired to know whether there would be any objection againſt his coming to Roan; and deſiring (if there were no objection againſt it) that a coach might be hired to meet him ſuch a day at Abbeville. The lieutenant-governor of Calais had upon his firſt arrival there given advertiſement to the court of it, and by the ſame poſt that he received a very dry letter from the earl of St. Alban's, in which he ſaid he thought that court would approve of his coming to Roan; he received likewiſe a letter of great civility from the count De Louvois, ſecretary of ſtate, in which he congratulated his ſafe arrival in France, and told him that his majeſty was well pleaſed with it, and with his purpoſe of coming to Roan, where he ſhould find himſelf very welcome. At the ſame time letters were ſent to the lieutenant-governor of Calais, Bologne, and Montreul, to treat him as a perſon of whom the king had eſteem, and to give him ſuch an eſcorte as might make his journey ſecure; of all which he received advertiſement, and that a coach would be ready at Abbeville to wait for him at the day he had appointed, and now he thought that he well took his reſolution, and thereupon gave direction, that ſuch of his family, whoſe attendance he could not be well without, might with all expedition be with him at Roan, and ſuch monies might be likewiſe returned thither for him, as were neceſſary; for he had not brought with him ſupply enough for a long time; and ſo he provided to leave Calais, that he might be warm in his winter quarters as ſoon as might be; which both the ſeaſon of the year, it being now within few days of Chriſtmas,

mas, and his expectation of a ſpeedy defluxion of the gout made very requiſite. When he came to Bologn, he found orders from the marſhal d'Aumont to his lieutenant for a guard to Montreul, the Spaniſh garriſons making frequent incurſions into thoſe quarters, and at Montreul, the duke d'Elbeuf viſited him and invited him to ſupper, which the chancellor was ſo much tired with his journey that he accepted not, but was not ſuffered to refuſe his coach next day to Abbeville, where he found a coach from Paris ready to carry him to Roan. It was Chriſtmas eve when he came to Dieppe, and it was a long journey the next day to Roan; which made him ſend to the governor to deſire that the ports might be open much ſooner than their hour; which was granted, ſo that he came to a very ill inn well known in Tought, near the middle way to Roan about noon; and, when he was within view of that place, a gentleman paſſing by in a good gallop with a couple of ſervants, asked whether the chancellor of England was in that coach, and being anſwered that he was, he alighted at the coach ſide, and gave him a letter from the king, which contained only credit to what that gentleman M. de Fonde his ſervant in ordinary, ſhould ſay to him from his majeſty. The gentleman, after ſome expreſſions of his majeſty's grace and good opinion, told him that the king had lately received advertiſements from his envoy in England, that the parliament was ſo much incenſed againſt him the chancellor, that if he ſhould be ſuffered to ſtay in France, it would be ſo prejudicial to the affairs of his chriſtian majeſty (to whom he was confident, the chancellor wiſhed well) that it might make a breach between the two crowns; and therefore deſired him to make what ſpeed he could out of his dominions; and, that he might want no accommodation for his journey;

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that gentleman was to accompany him till he ſaw him out of France. He was marvellouſly ſtruck with this encounter which he looked not for, nor could reſolve what to do, being at liberty to make his journey which way he would, ſo he reſted not; which was the only thing he deſired. So he deſired the gentleman (for all this converſation was in the high-way) to come into the coach, and to accompany him to Roan, where they would confer farther. The gentleman, though he was a very civil perſon, ſeemed to think that it would be better to return to Dieppe, and ſo to Calais, as the ſhorteſt way out of France; but he had no commiſſion to urge that, and ſo condeſcended to go that night to Roan, with a declaration that it was neceſſary for him to be the next day very early in the coach, which way ſoever he intended to make his journey. It was late in the night before they reached Roan, and the coach was overthrown three times in the gentleman's ſight, who choſe to ride his horſe; ſo that the chancellor was really hurt and bruiſed, and ſcarce able to ſet his feet to the ground. And therefore he told the gentleman plainly that he could not make any journey the next day, but that he would preſently write to Paris to a friend, who ſhould inform the king of the ill condition he was in, and deſire ſome time of reſt; and that as ſoon as he had finiſhed his letter, he would ſend an expreſs with it, who ſhould make all poſſible haſte going and coming. Monſieur Fonde aſſured him the matter was ſo fully reſolved, that no writing would procure any time to ſtay in France; and therefore deſired him to haſten his journey which way ſoever he intended it. But when he ſaw there was no remedy, he likewiſe wrote to the court, and the chancellor to the earl of St. Alban's, from whom he thought he ſhould receive offices of humanity, and to another

ther friend, upon whose affection he more depended, and with those letters the express was dispatched.

They who had prevailed so far against him in England, were not yet satisfied, but contrived those ways to disquiet him as much in France, by telling M. Rouvigny, who was too easily disposed to believe them, that the parliament was so much offended with the chancellor, that it would never consent that the king should enter into a close and firm alliance with France, which it was his business to sollicit, whilst he should be permitted to stay within that kingdom; when in truth all the malice against him was contained within the breasts of few men, who by incensing the king, and infusing many faults and groundless relations into him, drew such a numerous party to contribute to their ends. When he was now gone, they observed to the king, what a great faction there was in both houses that adhered to the chancellor, who were called Clarendonians; and when any opposition was made to any thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, it was always done by the Clarendonians, whose condition they thought was not desperate enough, except they proceeded further than was yet done. They laboured with all their power, that he might be attainted of high-treason by act of parliament, and that both his sons might be removed from the court; both which, notwithstanding all their importunities, his majesty positively refused to consent to. Then they told him that the chancellor only waited the season that the parliament should be confirmed in ill humour, to which they were inclined; and then he would return and sit in the house, and disturb all their councils, and obstruct all his service; and therefore they proposed, since he had fled from the hand of justice, that there could be no more

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proſecution for his guilt, which was untrue; for they might as well have proceeded and proved the crimes objected againſt him if they could, a bill of baniſhment which they had prepared, might be brought in againſt him; which his majeſty conſented to, notwithſtanding all that the duke of York urged to the contrary upon the king's promiſe to him, and which only betrayed the chancellor to making the eſcape. But the king alledged that the condeſcenſion was neceſſary for his good, and to compound with thoſe, who would elſe preſs that, which would be more miſchievous to him. Whereupon a bill for his baniſhment was prepared, only upon his having declined the proceeding of juſtice by his flight, without ſo much as endeavouring to prove one of the crimes they had charged upon him: and this bill was paſſed by the two houſes, and confirmed by the king, of whom they had yet ſo much jealouſy, that they left it not in his power to pardon him without the conſent of the two houſes of parliament; and this act to be abſolute, except by a day appointed, which was ſo ſhort, that it was hardly poſſible for him to comply with it, except he could have rode poſt, he ſhould appear before one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or deliver himſelf to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was to detain him in cuſtody, till he had acquainted the parliament with it. In the mean time no perſon was to preſume to hold any correſpondence with him, or to write to him, except his own children, or his menial ſervants, who were obliged to ſhew the letters which they ſent or received to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate.

The expreſs that had been ſent to Paris, returned with reiterated orders to M. de Fonde to haſten the chancellor's journey, and not to ſuffer him to remain there, who exe-

cuted the commands he had received with great punctuality and importunity. The earl of St. Alban's did not vouchsafe to return any answer to his letter, or to interpose on his behalf, that he might rest till he might securely enter upon his journey: only abbot Montagu writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the offices could be in his power to be performed, and excused the rigour of the court proceedings, as the effect of such reason of state as would not permit any alteration, whilst they had that apprehension of the parliament; and therefore advised him to comply with their wishes, and make no longer stay in Roan, which would not be permitted. But the general indisposition of his body, the fatigue of his journey, and the bruises he had received by his falls and overturnings of the coach, made him not able to rise out of his bed, and the physicians, who had taken much blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his French conductor to lessen his importunity that he would go, tho' it was evident he could not easily stand. Of which no doubt he gave true and faithful advertisement to the court, tho' the jealousy of being not thought active enough in his trust, made his behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the custom of that nation. However, the chancellor, hardened by the inhumanity of his treatment, wrote such a letter in Latin to M. de Leon, by whose hand all the ungentle orders to M. le Fonde had been transmitted, as expressed the condition he was in, and his disability to comply with his majesty's commands until he could recover more strength, not without complaint of the little civility he had received in France; and he wrote likewise to the abbot Montagu to use his credit with M. de Tellier, upon whose humanity he more depended,

depended, to interpoſe with his chriſtian majeſty, that he might not be preſſed beyond what his health would bear; and ſince at that time he reſolved to make his journey to Avignon, that he might be out of the dominions of France, he deſired that he might have liberty to reſt ſome days at Orleans, until his ſervants, who were upon the ſea, and brought with them many things which he wanted, might come to him; and that he might afterwards in ſo long a journey in the worſt ſeaſon of the year have liberty to take ſuch repoſe as his health would require, in which he could not affect unneceſſary delay, for the great charge and expence it muſt be accompanied with. The anſwer he received from M. de Leon, was the renewing the king's commands for his ſpeedy departure, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary to his affairs, and which muſt not be diſputed. But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the ſight of a billet which abbot Montagu ſent to him, that he had received from M. de Tellier; in which he ſaid, that he had, according to his deſire, moved his chriſtian majeſty concerning the chancellor of England, and that his majeſty was much diſpleaſed that he made not more haſte to comply with what was moſt neceſſary for his affairs; and that it muſt be no longer delayed; and that if he choſe to paſs to Avignon, he might reſt one day in ten, which was all his majeſty would allow. This unexpected determination without the leaſt ceremony, or circumſtance of remorſe, ſignified by a perſon, who he was well aſſured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful anſwer, in the inſtant ſuppreſſed all hopes of finding any humanity in France, and raiſed a reſolution in him to get out of thoſe dominions with all the expedition that was poſſible, which his French conductor urged with new and importunate inſtance. Inſomuch as

tho' there was ſure information that the ſhip, in which the chancellor's ſervants and goods were embarked, was arrived at the mouth of the river, and only kept by the croſs wind from coming up to the town, he would by no means conſent to the ſtay of one day in expectation of it, or that his ſervants might come to him by land, as he had ſent to them to do. At this very time arrived expreſs a ſervant of his, ſent by his children, with a particular account of all the tranſactions in parliament, and of the bill of baniſhment; nothing of which he had before heard, and upon which the duke of York, who looked upon himſelf as ill uſed by that proſecution, was of opinion that the chancellor ſhould make all poſſible haſte, and appear by the day appointed, and undergo the trial, in which he knew his innocence would juſtify him. This advice, with a little indignation at the diſcourteſy of the court of France, diverted him from any further thought of Avignon; and tho' he did not imagine that his ſtrength would be ſufficient to perform the journey by the day aſſigned (for the gout had already ſeized upon both his feet, nor did the arguments for his return ſatisfy him; and the breach of all the promiſes which had been made, was no ſign that they meant ſpeedily to bring him to trial, towards which they had not yet made any preparation) yet he reſolved to make all poſſible haſte to Calais, that it might be in his power to proceed according to ſuch directions as he might reaſonably expect to receive there from his friends in England; and from whence he might quickly remove into the Spaniſh dominions, tho' the climate of Flanders, well known to him, terrified him in reſpect of the ſeaſon, and his approaching gout; and with this reſolution, he diſpatch'd the expreſs again for England, and left order with a merchant

chant at Roan to receive his goods when the ſhip ſhould arrive, and detain both them and his ſervants, till he ſhould ſend further orders from Calais; and at the ſame time he wrote to a friend in Flanders to ſpeak to the marquis of Caracona (with whom he had formerly held a fair correſpondence) to ſend him a paſs to go through that country to what place he ſhould think fit; and having thus provided for his journey, he departed from Roan, after he had remained there about twenty days. In how ill a condition of health ſoever he was to travel, when the days were at ſhorteſt, he reſolved to make no ſtay till he ſhould reach Calais: to the end, that if he met with no advice there to the contrary, he might be at London by the day limited by the proclamation (which was the 1ſt of February that ſtyle and it was now the laſt of January the French ſtyle when he arrived at Calais, ſo broken with the fatigue of the journey, and the defluxion of the gout, that he could not move but as he was carried, and was ſo put into a bed; and the next morning the phyſicians found him in a fever, and thought it neceſſary to open a vein, which they preſently did. But the pains in all his limbs ſo encreaſed, that he was not able to turn in his bed, nor for many nights cloſed his eyes. Many letters he found there from England, but was not in a condition to read them, nor in truth could he ſpeak and diſcourſe with any body. M. le Fonde, out of pure compaſſion ſuffered him to remain ſome days without his vexation, until he received freſh orders from Paris, that the chancellor might not in what caſe ſoever, be ſuffered to remain in Calais; and then he renewed his importunity that he would the next day leave that town, and either by ſea or land, if he thought it not fit to paſs for England, put himſelf into the Spaniſh dominions; which he might

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do in few hours. He was ſo confounded with the barbarity, that he had no mind to give him any anſwer; nor could he ſuddenly find words, their converſation being in Latin, to expreſs the paſſion he was in. At laſt he told him, that he muſt bring orders from God Almighty as well as from the king before he could obey. That he ſaw the condition he was in, and conferred every day with his phyſicians, by which he could not but know, that he could neither help himſelf, nor endure the being carried out of that chamber, if the houſe were in a flame; and therefore that he did not uſe him like a gentleman, in adding his unreaſonable importunities to the vexation he ſuffered by pain and ſickneſs. That he might be very confident his treatment had not been ſo obliging to make him ſtay one hour in France, after he ſhould be able to go out of it. But he would not endanger himſelf by ſea, to fall into the hands of his enemies; that he knew (for he had ſhewed him his letter) that he had written into Flanders for a paſs, which was not yet come; as ſoon as it did, if he could procure a litter, and endure the motion of it, he would remove to St. Omers or Newport, which were the neareſt places under the Spaniſh government. To all which he replied with no exceſs of courteſy, that he muſt and would obey his orders as he had done; and that he had no power to judge of his diſability to remove, or of the pain he underwent; and there is no doubt, the gentleman, who was well bred, and in his nature very civil, was not pleaſed with his province, and much troubled that he could not avoid the delivery of the orders he received; and the conjuncture of their affairs was ſuch, with reference to the deſigns then on foot, that every poſt brought reiterated commands for the chancellor's remove, which grew every day more impoſſible by the acceſs of new pain to the

weakneſs

weakneſs he was in for want of ſleep without any kind of ſuſtenance. Notwithſtanding which, within few days after the laſt encounter upon freſh letters from M. de Leon, the gentleman came again to him, told him what orders he had received, and again propoſed that he would either make uſe of a boat to Newport or Oſtend, or a brancar to St. Omer's; either of which he would cauſe to be provided againſt the morning; for the king's ſervice was exceedingly concerned in the expedition; and when he ſaw the other was not moved with what he ſaid, nor gave him any anſwer, he told him plainly, that the king would be obeyed in his own dominions; and if he woulſt not chuſe to do that which the king had required, he muſt go to the governor, who had authority and power to compel him, which he durſt not but do. Upon which, with the ſupply of ſpirit that choler adminiſtered to him, he told him, that tho' the king was a very great and powerful prince, he was not yet ſo omnipotent as to make a dying man ſtrong enough to undertake a journey. That he was at the king's mercy, and would endure what he ſhould exact from him as well as he was able. It was in his majeſty's power to ſend him a priſoner into England, or to cauſe him to be carried dead or alive into the Spaniſh territories; but he would not be felo de ſe by willingly attempting to do, what he and all who ſaw him knew was impoſſible for him to perform; and in this paſſion he added ſome words of reproach to Le Fonde, which were more due to M. De Leon, who in truth had not behaved himſelf with any civility. Whereupon he withdrew in the like diſorder, and for ſome days forbore ſo much as to ſee him, in which he had never before failed a day. And the chancellor, who really did believe that ſome force and violence would be uſed towards him, preſently ſent to deſire

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the chief magiſtrate of the town and the lieutenant-governor to come to him; and then told them all the treatment he had received from M. de la Fonde, and appealed to them, whether they thought him in a condition to perform any journey; and the phyſicians being likewiſe preſent, he required them to ſign ſuch a certificate and teſtimony of his ſickneſs as they thought their duty; which they readily performed, very fully declaring under their hands, that he could not be removed out of the chamber in which he lay, without manifeſt danger of his life. And the lieutenant-governor and preſident of juſtice ſeemed much ſcandalized at what had been ſo much preſſed; and of which they had taken notice many days: and the one of them wrote to the count of Charroſte, governor of the town, and then at court, and the other to M. de Leon what they thought fit; and the certificate of the phyſicians was incloſed to abbot Montagu, with a full relation of what had paſſed; and it was never doubted but that M. le Fonde himſelf made a very faithful relation of the impoſſibility that the chancellor ſhould comply with what was required, in the ſtate of ſickneſs and pain that he was in at preſent.

By this time the French court diſcovered that they were prevented of entering into that ſtreight alliance they hoped with England, and for obtaining whereof they had gratified the proud and malicious humour of the duke of Buckingham and lord Arlington, in the treatment of the chancellor, by the triple league, which they had uſed all thoſe compliances to prevent. So that, by the next poſt after the receipt of the certificate from the phyſicians, Monſieur de Leon wrote a very civil letter to the chancellor, in which he proteſted that he had the ſame reſpect for him, which he had always profeſſed to have in his greateſt fortune;

and

and that it was never in the purpoſe of his chriſtian majeſty to endanger his health by making any journey that he could not well endure, and therefore that it was left entirely to himſelf to remove from Calais when he thought fit, and to go to what place he would; and Monſieur le Fonde came now again to viſit him with another countenance, by which a man could not but diſcern that he was much better pleaſed with the commiſſion he had received laſt, than with the former, and told him that he was now to receive no orders but from himſelf, which he would gladly obey. This gave him ſome little eaſe in the agony he was in; for his pains increaſed to an intolerable degree, inſomuch that he could not riſe out of his bed in ſix weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, becauſe at the ſame time he received an account from his friend in Flanders, that the marquis of Caſtle-Rodrigo, with as much regret as a civil man could expreſs, proteſted that the fear he had of offending the parliament at that time, would not permit him to grant a paſs; but if he would come to Newport, he ſhould find the governor there well prepared and diſpoſed to ſhew him all poſſible reſpect, and to accommodate him in his paſſage throughout the country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any ſtay; and that he looked upon it as a great misfortune to himſelf that he might not wait upon him in his paſſage. This made it eaſy for him to diſcern that his enemies would not give him any reſt in any place where their malice could reach him: and ſince they were ſo terrible that the marquiſs of Caſtle-Rodrigo durſt not grant him a paſs, he thought it would be no hard matter for them to cauſe ſome affront to be put upon him, when he ſhould be without any paſs; though he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the marquiſs's failing in point of honour or

courteſy. At the ſame time he received advice from his friends in England, that the ſtorm from France was over, and that he might be permitted to ſtay in any part thereof; and for the preſent they wiſhed that he would repair to the waters of Bourbon for his health, and then chuſe ſuch a place to reſide in, as upon enquiry he ſhould judge moſt proper. But he was not yet ſo far reconciled to that court, tho' he liked the climate well, as to depend upon its protection; and therefore he reſumed his former purpoſe of going to Avignon, and if he could recover ſtrength for the journey before the ſeaſon ſhould be expired for drinking the waters of Bourbon, to paſs that way; and to that purpoſe he ſent to the court for a paſs to Avignon, with liberty to ſtay ſome days at Roan, where his goods and his monies were; for his ſervants had come from thence to him to Calais, and to uſe the waters of Bourbon in his way; all which was readily granted. It was the third of April before he recovered ſtrength enough to endure a coach, and then having bought a large and eaſy coach of the preſident of Calais, he hired horſes there, and ſo he began his journey for Roan, being ſtill ſo lame and weak, that he could not go without being ſupported; and the firſt day had a very ill omen by the negligence of the coachman, who paſſing upon the ſands between Calais and Bologn, when the ſea was flowing, drove ſo unadviſedly, which he might have avoided, as the horſemen and another coach did, that the ſea came over the boot of the coach to the middle of all thoſe who ſat in it, and a minute's pauſe more had inevitably overthrown the coach, the weight whereof only then prevented it, and they had been all covered with the ſea; and two days after, by the change of the coachman for a worſe, he was overthrown in a place almoſt as bad, into a deep

deep and dirty water, from whence he was with difficulty and ſome hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful deliverances were comfortable inſtances that God would protect him, of which within few days he had a freſh and extraordinary evidence.

When he came to Roan, he received all thoſe orders he had deſired from the court, and a letter from abbot Montagu aſſured him, that he need no more apprehend any diſcommodity from orders of the court, but might be confident of the contrary, and of all reſpect that could be ſhewed him from thence. That he might ſtay at Roan as long as his indiſpoſition required; and when he had made uſe of the waters of Bourbon, he might retire to any place he would chuſe to reſide in. M. le Fonde had orders, after he had accompanied the chancellor two or three days journey towards Bourbon, except he deſired his company longer, that he might return to the court; only M. de Leon deſired that he would not, in his journey come nearer Paris, than the direct way required him to do. Becauſe the emperor's agent at London the baron d'Iſola, had confidently averred that the king had one day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the chancellor, and had a long private conference with him. When he had ſtaid as long at Roan, as was neceſſary for the taking a little phyſick, and recovering a little ſtrength, the ſeaſon required his making haſte to Bourbon; and ſo on the 23d of April he begun his journey from thence; and, that he might comply with the directions of M. de Leon, he choſe to go by the way of Evereux, and to lodge there that night; and, becauſe he was unable to go up a pair of ſtairs, he ſent a ſervant before, as he had always done, to chuſe an inn where there was ſome ground-lodging, which often was attended with diſ-

commodity enough; and now (beſides being forced to go through the city into the ſuburbs) was like to coſt him very dear. There happened to be at that time quartered there a foot company of Engliſh ſeamen, who had been raiſed, and were entertained to ſerve the French in attending upon their artillery, ſome of them being gunners, and none of them having the language; but were attended by a Dutch conductor, who ſpake ill Engliſh, for their interpreter. Their behaviour there was ſo rude and barbarous in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the townſmen, who would not give them any thing they demanded, that the city had ſent to the court their complaints, and expected orders that night for their remove. They quickly heard of the chancellor's being come to the town, and calling their company together, declared that there were many months pay due to them in England; and that they would make him pay it before he got out of the town. He was ſcarce got into his ill ground-lodging, when many of them flock'd about the houſe. Upon which the gates of the inn were ſhut, they making a great noiſe, and ſwearing they would ſpeak with the chancellor, and being about the number of fifty, threatened to break open the gate, or pull down the houſe. The mutiny was notorious to all the ſtreet, but they had not courage to appear againſt them. The magiſtrates were ſent to, but there was a difference between them upon the point of juriſdiction, this uproar being in the ſuburbs. In ſhort, they broke open the door of the inn, and when they were entered into the court, they quickly found which was the chancellor's chamber; and the door being barricadoed with ſuch things as were in the room, they firſt diſcharged their piſtols into the window, with which they hurt ſome of the ſervants, and M. le Fonde, who with his

ſword

ſword kept them from entring in at the window with great courage, until he was ſhot with a brace of bullets in the head, with which he fell, and then another of the ſervants being hurt, they entered in at the window, and opened the door for the reſt of their company, which quickly filled the chamber. The chancellor was in his gown ſitting upon the bed, being not able to ſtand, upon whom they all came with their ſwords drawn, and one of them gave him a blow with a great broad ſword upon the head, which, if it had fallen upon the edge muſt have cleft his head, but it turn'd in his hand, and ſo ſtruck him with the flat, with which he fell backwards on the bed. They gave him many ill words, and called him traitor, and ſwore before he ſhould get out of their hands, he ſhould lay down all their arrears in pay. They differed amongſt themſelves what they ſhould do with him, ſome crying that they would kill him, others that they would carry him into England. Some had their hands in his pockets, and pillaged him of his money, and ſome other things of value; others broke up his trunks and plundered his goods. He himſelf, recovered out of the trance, in which he was ſtunned by the blow, took him by the hand who ſpake of carrying him into England, and told him it was the wiſeſt thing they conld do to carry him thither, where they would be well rewarded. Another ſwore that they ſhould be better rewarded for killing him there; and in this confuſion the room being full, and all ſpeaking together, the fellow, who had given him the blow, whoſe name was Howard, a very luſty ſtrong man, took him by the hand, and ſwore they ſhould kill one another if they killed him there; and therefore they would take him into the court, and diſpatch him where there was more room; and thereupon others laid their hands upon him, and pulled him

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to the ground, and then dragged him into the court, being in the ſame inſtant ready to run their ſwords into him together, when in the moment their enſign and ſome of the magiſtrates with a guard came into the court, the gate being broken, and ſo he was reſcued out of their bloody hands, and carried back into his chamber. Howard and many of the others, ſome whereof had been hurt with ſwords, as they entered at the window, were taken and carried to priſon, and the reſt diſperſed, vowing revenge, when they ſhould get the reſt of their company together; and it cannot be expreſſed with how much fear the magiſtrates, and the poor guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again. The chancellor himſelf had the hurt before mentioned in his head, which was a contuſion, and already ſwoln to a great bigneſs. M. de Fonde was ſhot into the head with a brace of bullets, and bled much, but ſeemed not to think himſelf in danger. Two others of the chancellor's ſervants were hurt with ſwords, and loſt much blood, ſo that they all deſired to be in ſome ſecure place, that phyſicians and ſurgeons might viſit them; and by this time many perſons of quality of the town both men and women filled the little chamber, bitterly inveighing againſt the villainy of the attempt, but renewing the diſpute of their juriſdiction. And the provoſt, who out of the city was the greateſt officer, would provide an accomodation for them in the city, and appoint a guard for them, which the magiſtrates of the city would not conſent to, nor he to the expedients propoſed by them. And this diſpute, with animoſity and very ill words, continued in the chamber till twelve of the clock at night, the hurt perſons being in the mean time without any remedy or eaſe; ſo that the magiſtrates, though they were not ſo dangerous,

were

were as troubleſome as the ſeamen, againſt whom they were not ſecure upon any ſecond attempt. In the end, M. la Fonde was forced to raiſe his voice louder than was agreeable to the ſtate he was in, to threaten to complain of them to the king for their neglect, before and after the miſchief was done; by which they were much moved, and preſently ſent to the governor of the duke of Bouillion's caſtle (which is a good and noble houſe in the town) that he would receive the chancellor and M. la Fonde with ſuch ſervants as were neceſſary for their attendance, which he did with great courteſy, and gave them ſuch accomodation, as, in an unfurniſhed houſe, could on the ſudden be expected. And ſo phyſicians and ſurgeons viſited their wounds, and applied ſuch preſent remedies as were neceſſary, till, upon ſome repoſe, they might make a better judgement.

The ſame night there were expreſſes diſpatched to the court to give advertiſement of the outrage, and to Roan to inform the intendant in whoſe province it was committed; and he the next day, with a good guard of horſe, arrived at Evereux. After he had viſited the chancellor, with a juſt ſenſe of the inſolence he had undergone, and the indignity that the king and his governor had ſuſtained, he proceeded in the court of juſtice to examine the whole proceedings, and much blamed the magiſtrates and all ſides for their negligence and remiſſneſs. Upon the whole examination, there appeared no cauſe to believe that there was any form'd deſign, in which any others had concurred, than they who appeared in the execution, who defended themſelves by being drunk; which did not appear in any other thing, than in the barbarity of the action. Yet it was confeſſed, that upon their firſt arrival at Dieppe; and whilſt they were quartered there, the chancellor then paſſing by between

Roan

Roan and Calais, they had a reſolution to have robbed or killed him, if they had not been prevented by his getting the gates opened; and ſo going away before the uſual hour. The ſurgeons found M. la Fonde's wound to be more dangerous than they had apprehended; and that at leaſt one of the bullets remained ſtill in the wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the ſcull; in which caſe trepanning would be neceſſary, which made him reſolve, (tho' he was feveriſh) preſently to have a brancard made, and to be put into it in his bed, and ſo with expedition to be carried to Paris, where he was ſure to find better operators, beſides the benefit and convenience of his own houſe and family; and ſo the third day after his miſadventure, and after he had given his teſtimony to the intendant; he was in that manner, and attended by a ſurgeon conveyed to Paris, and by the bleſſing of God recovered without the remedy that had been propoſed. The chancellor, after he had bled once or twice, found himſelf only in pain with the blow, without any other ſymptoms, which frequently attend great contuſions; and therefore he poſitively rejected the propoſition of trepanning, which had been likewiſe urged by the ſurgeons, and upon application of ſuch plaiſters and ointments, as were preſcribed, he found both the pain and ſwelling leſſen by degrees, tho' the memory of the blow laſted long. So that he thought himſelf fit enough for his journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky town; and his ſervants having only fleſh hurts, could indure the coach as well as he. The intendant, who knew his deſire, and was willing to defer his judgment till he was gone from thence, was very well content that he ſhould proceed in his journey, and ſent his ſons with his own troop to convoy him two or three leagues out of the town, and appoint-

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ed the provoſt with his troop of horſe to attend him to his lodging that night, and further if he deſired it; and the next day he condemned Howard and two others, an Engliſhman, a Scotſman, and an Iriſhman (for the company conſiſted of the three nations) to be broken upon the wheel; which was executed accordingly; and ſhortly after his arrival at Bourbon, M. de Leon wrote a very civil letter to the chancellor of the trouble the king ſuſtained for the affront and danger he had undergone; and that his majeſty was very ill ſatisfied that ſo few as three had been ſacrificed to juſtice for ſo barbarous a crime. When he had ſtaid as long at Bourbon in the uſe of the waters as the phyſicians preſcribed; in which time he found a good recovery of his ſtrength, ſave that the weakneſs of his feet ſtill continued in an uneaſy degree; and having received great civilities during his abode there from all the French of quality, men and women, who came thither for the ſame remedies, and with whom the town then abounded, he proſecuted his journey to Avignon; and having ſtaid a week at Lyons, without any new ill accident, he arrived about the middle of June there by the pleaſant paſſage of the Rhone. Tho' he deſired to make his journey as privately as he could, and had no more ſervants in his train than was neceſſary to the ſtate of health he was in, yet he was known in moſt places by the preſence of the Engliſh, or by ſome other accident; and ſome friends at Paris had given ſuch advertiſement to Avignon, that when he arrived there, he no ſooner entered into a private lodging, which he procured the next day; but the vice-legate came to viſit him in great ſtate, and with much civility offering all the commodities of that place, if he would reſide there. The archbiſhop, a very reverend and learned prelate, a Genoeſe, as the vice-legate

likewiſe was, performed the ſame ceremony to him, and afterwards the conſuls and magiſtrates of the city in a body, who made a ſpeech to him in Latin, as all the reſt treated him in that language; and all the principal officers of the court, ſo that he could not receive more civility and reſpect in any place, which, together with the cheapneſs and convenience of living, and the pleaſantneſs of the country about it, might have inclined him to reſide there; yet the ill ſavour of the ſtreets, by the multitude of the dyers and the ſilk manufactures, and the worſe ſmell of the ſewers, made him doubt that it could be no pleaſant place to make an abode in during the heat of ſummer; and therefore receiving new confirmation by letters from Paris, that he was intirely at liberty to reſide where he would in France, he reſolved to take a view of ſome places, before he would conclude where to fix, and the fame of Montpelier, which was within two little days journey, invited him thither; and ſo, after a week's ſtay at Avignon, and after having returned all the viſits he had received, he went from thence, and came to Montpelier in the beginning of July.

It was his very good fortune, that an Engliſh lady of eminent virtue and merit, the lady viſcounteſs Mordaunt, who had in the beginning of the winter before, in as great weakneſs of body as nature can ſubſiſt with, tranſported herſelf thither, remained ſtill at Montpelier, where ſhe had miraculouſly, by the benefit of that air, recovered a comfortable degree of health; and the news of her being ſtill there was a great motive to his journey from Avignon thither. The chancellor had no mind to be taken notice of, but ſome relations, which that lady made to his advantage, and the great eſteem that city had for her, made his reception there more formal and ceremonious than he deſired. The

marquis

marquis de Caſtro, governor of the city and caſtle, viſited him and welcomed him to the town, tho' he had not ſo much as a paſs to come thither. The primier preſident, and all the other courts, and the conſul and other magiſtrates of the city, viſited him in their ſeveral bodies, and entertained him in Latin. It is true, that ſome days after the intendant of the province (who was not then in the town) came thither, and he had received orders from the court, as ſoon as it was known that the chancellor was in Montpelier, that he ſhould be looked upon and treated as a perſon of whom the moſt chriſtian king had a good eſteem; and ſo as ſoon as he came to the town, he viſited him with much ceremony, and told him that he had received a particular command from the king to do him all the ſervices he could in that city, and in the province of Languedoc; and, it muſt be confeſſed, that during his reſidence in Montpelier, which was not above one or two months leſs than three years, he did receive as much civility and formal courteſy from all perſons of all conditions in that place, or who occaſionally reſorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if he had been ſent thither as a publick perſon: and when the duke of Verneuil (who was governor of the province, and uſed to convene the ſtates thither every year) came to Montpelier, as he did three times in thoſe three years, he always viſited the chancellor, and ſhewed a very great reſpect to him, which was as great a countenance as he could receive. Yet he did always acknowledge, that he owed all the civilities, which he received at his firſt coming thither, and which were upon the matter the firſt civilities he had received in France, purely to the friendſhip of the lady Mordaunt, and to the great credit ſhe had there; and for which, and the conſolation he received from her during the

time of her ſtay there, he had ever a great reſpect for her and her husband; who coming likewiſe thither, when he received information from England of a deſign to aſſaſſinate him by ſome Iriſh, manifeſted a noble affection for him, and ſtaid ſome months longer than he intended to have done that he might ſee the iſſue of that deſign, of which he had a juſt ſenſe, and tranſmitted the information of it to his children, to the end that they and his friends might upon all opportunities acknowledge it to them both; and, in truth, the great reſpect the place had for him was notorious, in that, when any Engliſh came thither and forbore to pay reſpect to the chancellor, as only one gentleman did, Sir Richard Temple, who publickly declared, that he would not viſit him, and diſſuaded others from doing it, as a matter the parliament would puniſh them for, and ſhewed much vanity and inſolence in his diſcourſes concerning him, he found ſo little countenance from any perſon of condition, though he called himſelf the primier preſident of the parliament of England, and ſuch a general averſion towards him, that as they who came with him and his other friends deſerted him, and paid their civilities to the chancellor, ſo himſelf grew ſo ridiculous, that he left the town ſooner than he intended, and left the reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous, and ſordid perſon. And having thus accompanied the chancellor through all his ill treatments and miſadventures to Montpellier, where he reſolved to ſtay, it will be to no purpoſe further to continue this relation, otherwiſe than as himſelf afterwards communicated his private thoughts and reflections.

When he found himſelf at this eaſe, and with thoſe convenient accommodations, that he might reaſonably believe he

he ſhould be no more expoſed to the troubles and diſtreſſes which he had paſſed through, he begun to think of compoſing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards ſuch a tranquility, as the ſickneſs of mind and body, and the continued ſharp fatigue in the ſix or ſeven preceding months, had not ſuffered him to enter into any formed deliberation; and it pleaſed God in a ſhort time after ſome recollections, and upon his intire confidence in him, to reſtore him to that ſerenity of mind, and reſignation of himſelf to the diſpoſal and good pleaſure of God, that they, who converſed moſt with him, could not diſcover the leaſt murmnr or impatience in him, or any unevenneſs in his converſations. He reſolved to improve his underſtanding of the French language, not towards ſpeaking it, the defect of which he found many inconveniences in; but for the reading any books, and to learn the Italian, towards both which he made a competent progreſs, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he deſired to peruſe. But, in the firſt place, he thought he was indebted to his own reputation, and for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himſelf from thoſe aſperſions and reproaches, which the malice of his enemies had caſt upon him in the parliament; which, tho' never reduced into any formal or legal charge, nor offered to be proved by any one witneſs, were yet maliciouſly ſcattered abroad, and divulged, to take away his credit; and the performance of this work, that was ſo neceſſarily incumbent on him, was the more difficult by his conſtant and uninterupted fidelity and zeal for the king's ſervice, and his reſolution to ſay nothing on his own behalf, and for his own vindication, that might in the leaſt degree reflect upon his majeſty. Which conſideration had before kept him from charging thoſe who proſecuted him, with ſuch indirect

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and naughty proceedings, as might have put an end to their power. Nor did he think fit in that conjuncture, when his majeſty had not yet met with that compliance and ſubmiſſion from the parliament ſince the chancellor's remove, as had been promiſed to him as the effect of that council, to publiſh that his coming away (which was the greateſt blot upon his reputation, was with the king's privity, and at leaſt with his approbation. However, he was reſolved to commit into the cuſtody of his children, who he knew would never commit a fault againſt his majeſty, ſuch a plain particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with, that themſelves might infallibly know his uprightneſs and integrity in all his miniſtry, which they obſerved and knew too much of to ſuſpect; and might likewiſe manifeſtly convince other men, who were willing to be undeceived. But the manner of doing it in reſpect of the former conſideration he left to their diſcretion; and having prepared this, and cauſed it to be fairly tranſcribed before the lord and lady Mordaunt returned for England, he committed it to their care, who delivered it ſafely to the hands of his ſons. They were themſelves upon that diſadvantage, under the reproach of their relation, that the eldeſt of them was removed from his attendance upon the queen for many months, without the allegation of any crime, and the other was retained only by the goodneſs of the king againſt the greateſt importunity that could be applied; and therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any offence, of which their adverſaries might take any advantage. Beſides, they obſerved that they, whoſe credit and intereſt had done all the miſchief to their father, were now fallen out amongſt themſelves with equal animoſity, and had carried themſelves ſo ill with reference to the publick,

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and ſo looſely and licentiouſly, in order to a good name, that their being enemies brought little prejudice to any man's reputation; and many of thoſe, who had been made inſtruments to deprave the chancellor, were not ſcrupulous in declaring how they had been cozened, and how unjuſtly he had been traduced and accuſed, ſo that they made no other uſe of the anſwer and vindication they had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect relation of ſome particular matters of fact, which were variouſly reported, and could not be underſtood by any but thoſe who had been converſant in the tranſactions. It will be therefore neceſſary in this place, ſince there hath been before ſo methodical an account of all that the committee brought into the houſe of commons againſt him, and never after mentioned when they had once accuſed him, to inſert ſuch a ſhort anſwer and defence to all that was alledged out of that vindication which he ſent from Montpelier, that nothing may remain in the poſſible thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted man, that may reflect upon his ſincerity, or leave any taint upon his memory; the preſervation of which being ſullied by the misfortunes which befel him, is the only end of this diſcourſe; never to be communicated or peruſed by any but his neareſt relations, who, by the bleſſing of God, can never but retain that affection and duty to the crown and for the royal family, that by the laws of God and man is due to it and them, and without which they can never expect God's bleſſing in this or the world to come; and in this I ſhall obſerve the order I uſed before in the mention of the ſeveral allegations, omitting upon any particular the repetition of what hath been at large already ſaid in this diſcourſe; which ſhall be referred to for an anſwer:

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To the firſt then, that he had deſigned a ſtanding army, and to govern the kingdom thereby, adviſed the king to diſſolve the preſent parliament, and to lay aſide all thoughts of future parliaments, to govern by military power, and to maintain the ſame by free quarter and contribution; which, if true, whether it was treaſon or no, muſt worthily have made him odious to all honeſt men. The anſwer which he then made, and which was dated at Montpelier upon the 24th of July 1669, within few days after his arrival there, and reſolution to ſtay there, was in thoſe words; he ſaid, as nothing could be more ſurpriſing to him, nor be thought to any man elſe, than to find himſelf after near thirty years ſervice of the crown in the higheſt truſt, after having paſſed all the time of his majeſty's exile with him beyond the ſeas, and in his ſervice; and in which the indefatigable pains he took was notorious to many nations; and, after he had the honour and happineſs to return again with his majeſty into England, and to receive from him ſo many eminent marks of his favour, and to ſerve him near eight years after his return in the place of the greateſt truſt, without ever having diſcovered that his majeſty was offended with him, or, in truth, that he had ever the leaſt ill ſucceſs from any council he had ever given him, or that any perſons of honour, reputation, or intereſt in the nation, had ever made the leaſt complaint againſt him, or had any thought that the miſcarriages (for miſcarriages were enough ſpoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any advice of his. He ſaid, that after all this, as he could not but be exceedingly ſurpriſed to find himſelf on a ſudden, when he had not the leaſt imagination of it, bereft of the king's favour, and fallen ſo far from his kindneſs, even within three or four days after his majeſty had vouchſafed to condole

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with him in his house for the death of his wife, that he resolved to take the great seal from him, so it was no small comfort to him to see and know, that very few men of honour and reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by men and women of no credit in the nation; by men who had never served his majesty, or his blessed father, eminently or usefully, but most of them of trust and credit under Cromwell, or never of credit to do the king the least service, and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable councils, which they were every day audaciously administring in matters of the highest moment with great licence and presumption. But, above all, he said, it was of the highest consolation to him when it was publickly and industriously declared, that the king was firmly resolved to destroy him, and would take it very well from all men who would contribute thereunto, by bringing in any charge or accusation against him; when the most notorious enemies he had were the only persons trusted in employment, men who had most eminently disserved and maliciously traduced the king, and had been to that time looked upon as such by his majesty; and, when all who were believed to have any kindness for the chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when men of all conditions and degrees were daily sollicited and importuned by promises and threats to declare themselves against him; at least, if they would not be wrought over to do any thing against their conscience, that they would absent themselves from those debates; that all this malice and conspiracy, with so long deliberation and consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit

any other charge and accuſation againſt him, but ſuch a one, as moſt men, who knew him, or who had any truſt or employment in the publick affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the guilt of, and even his enemies themſelves did not believe. The particulars whereof, he ſaid, as far as he could take notice of them, they having not been to that day reduced into any form, ſo much as in the houſe of commons itſelf, he would then examine; and, if he ſhould appear too tedious in the examination and diſquiſition of them, and to ſay more than was neceſſary in his own defence, and to mention many particular perſons in another manner, than is uſual upon occaſions of this kind, he deſired that it might be remembered and conſidered, that this was not written as a formal anſwer to an impeachment, nor like to be publiſhed in his life-time (a judgment of baniſhment being paſſed againſt him, without the leaſt proof made or offered for the making good any one article of treaſon or miſdemeanor, by act of parliament) but that it was a debt due to his children and poſterity; that they might know (how much ſoever they were involved, or might be in the effects of the ſharp malice againſt him) how far he was from any guilt of thoſe odious crimes, which had been ſo odiouſly laid to his charge; and that being his end, he might be excuſed if he did ſo far enlarge upon all particulars, that it might be manifeſt unto them, how far he had been from treading in thoſe paths, or having been acceſſary to thoſe councils, which had been the ſource, from whence all thoſe bitter waters had flowed, that had corrupted the taſte, even almoſt of the whole nation; and, in order to that ſo neceſſary diſcourſe and vindication of his integrity and honour, he could only take notice of the printed paper of thoſe heads for a charge, that had been reported from the committee to the houſe, all

correſpondence and communication being ſo ſtrictly inhibited to all kind of men, to hold any kind of commerce with him, except his children and menial ſervants, who only had liberty to write unto him of his own domeſtick affairs, and the letters, which they ſhould write or receive, were to be firſt communicated to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate.

To the charge of the firſt article itſelf, he ſaid, it was no great vanity to believe, that there was not one perſon in England of any quality, to whom he was in any degree known, who believed him guilty of that charge; and that he wanted not a cloud of witneſſes (beſides the teſtimony that he hoped his majeſty himſelf would vouchſafe to give him in that particular) who from all that they had heard him ſay in council, and in converſation, could vindicate him from having that odious opinion; having had the honour by the ſpecial command of his late majeſty of bleſſed memory, to attend the prince his now majeſty, into the parts beyond the ſeas, and to be always with him and in his ſervice, thoſe many years of his exile, and till his happy return, he had always endeavoured to imprint in his majeſty's mind an affection, eſteem, and reverence for the laws of the land, without the trampling of which under foot he told him, that himſelf could not have been oppreſſed, and that by the vindication and ſupport of them he could only hope and expect honour and ſecurity to the crown. Upon that foundation, and declared judgment (he ſaid) he came into the ſervice of the king his father, by oppoſing all irregular and illegal proceedings in parliament; and that he had never ſwerved from that rule in any advice or council he had given to him or to his ſon. From the time of his majeſty's happy return from beyond the ſeas, he had taken nothing ſo much to heart, as the eſtabliſhment of the due admi-

niſtration of juſtice throughout the kingdom, according to the known laws of the land, as the beſt expedient he could think of for the compoſing the general diſtempers of the nation, and uniting the hearts of the people in a true obedience unto and reverence for his majeſty's perſon and government; and with what ſucceſs he had ſerved his majeſty in that province (which he had been pleaſed principally to commit to his care and truſt) he did appeal to the whole nation, and whether the oldeſt man could remember, that in the beſt times, juſtice was ever more equally adminiſtered, and with leſs complaint and murmur, which had been frequently acknowledged from all the parts of the kingdom, and had been often taken notice of by the king himſelf with great approbation, and confeſſed by moſt of the nobility upon ſeveral occaſions. He ſaid, he had often declared in parliament the king's affection and reverence for the laws, and his reſolution neither to ſwerve from them himſelf, nor to ſuffer any body elſe to do ſo, and upon the public occaſions of ſwearing the judges in any courts, he had always enjoined them to be very ſtrict and preciſe in the adminiſtration of juſtice according to law, with all equality, and without reſpect of perſons, which the king expected from them; and that as his majeſty reſolved never to interpoſe by meſſage or letter for the advancement or favour of any man's right or title, ſo he would take it very ill if any ſubject (how great ſoever) ſhould be able to pervert them; and he did believe there had never paſſed ſo many years together in any age, in which the crown had not in the leaſt degree interpoſed in any cauſe or title depending in Weſtminſter-hall, to incline the court to this or that ſide; or in which the crown itſelf hath had ſo many cauſes judged againſt it in ſeveral courts, at leaſt in which former practice

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and uſage on the behalf of the crown hath been leſs followed. And nothing is more known than that from the time of the king's bleſſed return into England, even to the preparation of that charge againſt him, he had been reproached with nothing ſo much, as to his too much adhering to the law, and ſubjecting all perſons to it, and this reproach had not been caſt upon him ſo bitterly and ſo maliciouſly by any, and in places where they thought it might produce moſt prejudice to him, than by thoſe who now contrived that charge, and who had been always great enemies to the law. All this, and much more of that kind, he ſaid, was manifeſt to all the world, and therefore he needed not more to labour in that vindication, yet he could not but obſerve, that there was not in all the king's forces, nor was when his forces were much greater than they were at that preſent, one officer, recommended by him, and moſt of them were ſuch who profeſſed publicly a great animoſity againſt him, having been, by the malice of ſome men very unreaſonably perſuaded, that the chancellor was their enemy; that he deſired they might be disbanded, or at leaſt ſo obliged to the rules of the law, that they ſhould be every day caſt into priſon; and they had indeed found that in ſome inſolences which the ſoldiers had committed contrary to the law, and ſome pretences which they made to privileges againſt arreſts and the like; that he had always oppoſed their deſires with more warmth than other men had done, as believing it might be the cauſe of notable diſorders, and more alienate the affection of the people from the ſoldiers, ſo that it could not be thought probable, that he ſhould contribute his advice for the raiſing a ſtanding-army; and that the kingdom ſhould be governed thereby, when there were very few men ſo like to be deſtroyed by that army, as himſelf, who was

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ſo induſtriouſly rendered to be odious to it. To the other part of that firſt article, that he did adviſe the king to diſſolve the preſent parliament, and to lay aſide all thoughts of parliaments for the future, &c. which it was ſaid two privy counſellors were ready to prove; he made a relation of all that had paſſed in that conſternation, when the Dutch fleet came into the river as far as Chatham, and when the debate was in council upon the recovering the parliament in Auguſt, when it ſtood prorogued till October, which the chancellor ſaid could not legally be done. All which is more at large related in this diſcourſe, at the time when theſe tranſactions paſſed, and ſo need not to be repeated in this place.

The ſecond article was, that he had, in the hearing of many of his majeſty's ſubjects, falſly and and maliciouſly ſaid, that the king was in his heart a papiſt, popiſhly affected, or words to that effect. He ſaid, that he had occaſion too often, throughout the whole charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great goodneſs of God Almighty, that ſince he thought not fit (for his greater humiliation, and it may be to correct the pride of a good conſcience) to preſerve him intirely from thoſe aſperſions of infamy, and thoſe *flagella linguæ*, thoſe ſtrokes of the tongue, which always leave ſome mark or ſcar in the reputation they deſire to wound, he had yet infuſed into the hearts of his enemies, who had ſuggeſted and contrived this perſecution againſt him, to lay ſuch crimes to his charge, as his nature is known moſt to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but muſt be contradicted, and a vindication of him from that guilt muſt be made by all men who knew him to any degree, or who have been much in his company; and as juſtice would have required it, ſo the uſual form in caſes of this nature doth

doth exact, that in ſo general a charge, they ſhould have named one ſingle perſon of thoſe many, in whoſe hearing he had laid that odious imputation upon the king (and every man will preſume that one ſuch perſon would have been named, if he could have been found) there was no man then alive, he ſaid, who had the honour to be ſo many years about or near the perſon of the king as he had been; no man who knew more of the temptations his majeſty had undergone, and the aſſaults he had ſuſtained in the matters of religion, during the whole time of his exile, when almoſt a total deſpair had ſeized the ſpirits of moſt men of his own religion, that he would recover his regality, and the hopes and promiſes and aſſurances were ſo pregnant of very many of all conditions, that he would ſuddenly recover it if he would change; no man knew ſo well with what chriſtian courage his majeſty had repelled thoſe aſſaults, or with what pious contempt and indignation he reſiſted and rejected thoſe temptations; nor had any man he thought held ſo many diſcourſes with his majeſty as he had done; and ſooner and more clearly diſcerned the reproaches he would undergo from that innate candour in his princely nature, which diſpoſed him to receive any addreſſes, or to hear any diſcourſes, which thoſe of ſeveral factions in religion, with great preſumption have uſed to preſent to him; whilſt his majeſty, with equal temper and ſingular benignity, heard all, and pitying their errors diſmiſſed them, with evidence that their arguments were too weak to make an impreſſion on his judgement, which though they knew well, yet either party, out of the vanity of their hearts, uſed all the endeavours they could to get it believed that the king was propitious to them and their party. And the papiſts being moſt preſumptuous in particular, and in their dark

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walks in ſeveral counties, making it a ſpecial argument to their proſelytes, and thoſe they endeavoured to make ſo, that the king favoured them, and was of their religion in his heart; of which, and the great prejudice it brought upon his majeſty, he frequently received advertiſements from many perſons of honour and of warm affections to the government, of which he had always informed the king, who was exceedingly offended at their folly and preſumption, and wiſhed that ſome of them might be apprehended and proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour; and that ſome ſuch proſecution might be made againſt all the Roman Catholics; and that they might be convicted, which he always gave in charge to the judges accordingly; and upon that and the like occaſions he had a juſt and neceſſary opportunity to inlarge in the preſence of many perſons of honour and intereſt in the kingdom upon the ſincerity of the king's religion, and his conſtant exerciſe of it, when he ſuffered by it, giving ſuch inſtances of many particulars, as were pertinent to the diſcourſe: of which endeavours of his and of ſome fruit thereof, he doubted not, but that many of as conſiderable perſons as are in England, would be ready to give their teſtimony. And he ſaid he might without vanity ſay, that he had more than an ordinary part in the framing and promoting that act of parliament, that hath made thoſe ſeditious diſcourſes of the king's being a papiſt in his heart, or popiſhly affected, ſo very penal as it is, and therefore there would be need of an undoubted and uncontroulable evidence, that he had ſoon run into that crime himſelf, which was all he would for the preſent ſay upon that ſecond article.

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The third article was, that he had received great ſums of money for paſſing the Canary patent, and other illegal patents, and granted ſeveral injunctions to ſtop proceeding at law againſt them, and other illegal patents formerly granted.

To which he ſaid, that he had preſumed, in his humble addreſs to the houſe of peers, to aſſure their lordſhips that he had never received one penny over and above the juſt perquiſites of his office, according to the precedents and practice of the beſt times, which he conceived to be thoſe of the lord Coventry and the lord Elleſmere, and which he had made his rule in all that he had received, except only what he had from the immediate bounty of the king: and as he had always done all that was in his power to prevent and ſtop all illegal patents, ſo he did believe that there would be more patents then found in the office, which had been ſtopped by him, than by any of his predeceſſors in ſo ſhort a time. He never granted any injunctions in the caſes mentioned in the charge, nor in any caſe where by the courſe of the court and the rules of juſtice it was not warranted; and for the Canary patent, and the original, and all the proceedings thereupon, ſo much is ſaid in the body of this diſcourſe according to the time it was tranſacted in, that there needs no repetition of it in this place.

The fourth article was, that he had adviſed and procured divers of his majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt law in remote iſlands, garriſons, and other places, thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to introduce precedents for impriſoning of others of his majeſty's ſubjects in like manner.

To which he ſaid, he knew not what anſwer to make to that article, it being ſo general, and no particular perſon being named; but he ſaid it was generally known, that he had never taken it upon him to commit any man to priſon; but ſuch, who by the courſe of the Chancery for matters of contempt are juſtly and neceſſarily to be committed. It was probable, that he had been preſent at the council board, when many perſons had been ordered to be committed, and whoſe commitment hath by the wiſdom of that board been thought juſt and neceſſary, and therefore he was not to anſwer a part for any thing done by them; only he might ſay, that he was frequently of opinion, that the commitments were very neceſſary; and it was notoriouſly known, that by ſuch commitments ſome rebellions or inſurrections had been prevented; and that other perſons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for high-treaſon, had, upon their examinations, and at their death confeſſed, that their purpoſe had been to riſe in arms at ſuch and ſuch times, if their friends, upon whom they had principally relied, had not been then committed to priſon; and he ſaid, he did well remember, that it was thought fit, that moſt of the perſons, who ſtand attainted for the murder of the late king his majeſty's royal father, ſhould be removed out of the Tower, and diſperſed into ſeveral iſlands and garriſons; and, if any other perſons had been likewiſe ſent thither, he preſumed it was upon ſuch reaſons as upon a due examination thereof would make it appear to be very juſt.

The fifth article was, that he had corruptly ſold ſeveral offices contrary to law. This he poſitively denied.

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The ſixth was, that he had procured his majeſty's cuſtoms to be farmed at under-rates, knowing the ſame, and cauſed great pretended debts to be paid by his majeſty, to the payment whereof his majeſty was not in ſtrictneſs bound; and that he had received great ſums of money for procuring the ſame.

To this he ſaid, he had never had any thing to do in the diſpoſing his majeſty's cuſtoms, or any other part of his revenue except for ſome ſhort time after his majeſty's firſt arrival in England, when he, amongſt others of the lords of the council was a commiſſioner for the Treaſury, during which time there was no farm let of any of the revenue, and the cuſtoms were put into the hands of commiſſioners, to the end that a computation might be made, as near as was poſſible, of the full value of them, before that it ſhould be put into a farm, which every man conceived would be fit to be done as ſoon as might be. The white ſtaff was ſhortly after given to the earl of Southampton (to whom his majeſty had deſigned it before he returned) and the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer to the lord Aſhley, the lord chancellor having reſigned it into his majeſty's hands, which he had been poſſeſſed of for many years in the time of the late king, and retained it till after his majeſty's return; and from the time that thoſe two officers of the revenue were made, which determined the former commiſſion, he never intermeddled in the cuſtoms, or in any other branch of the revenue, except when the king commanded him to be preſent in ſome conſultations which he had with the lord treaſurer, and when there were other lords of the council preſent. That excellent perſon, the lord treaſurer, always reſorted to the king for his direction, in all matters of the leaſt difficulty, which occurred to him in the adminiſtration

niſtration of his office, and frequently did deſire to confer with the chancellor (with whom he was known to have held a long and a faſt friendſhip) upon many particulars of his office, believing that he was not altogether ignorant in that adminiſtration, with which he had been formerly ſo well acquainted; and that he conceived might be the reaſon, why he did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in references from the king upon matters wholly made to him in thoſe caſes, nor had ever ſecret conferences with any perſons, who were concerned in thoſe pretenſions. What was meant by his having procured his majeſty's cuſtoms to be farmed at under-rates knowing the ſame, and great pretended debts to be paid by his majeſty, to the payment whereof his majeſty was not in ſtrictneſs bound, he ſaid he could not imagine, except it did relate to the payment of a debt due from his late majeſty to ſome of the farmers; in which, tho' he had no more to do, than in giving information, and his particular advice to his majeſty, in the preſence of the lord-treaſurer, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and other of the lords, and ſo was not himſelf reſponſible for what his majeſty did thereupon, yet he thought himſelf obliged upon this particular, which ſo much concerned the honour and juſtice of the late king, and of his preſent majeſty, to inlarge and relate all he knew of what their majeſties did, and what induced his preſent majeſty to do his part in it.

He ſaid, it was notoriouſly known, that before the late troubles, and in the very firſt entrance into them, his majeſty was neceſſitated to borrow very great ſums of money from his then farmers of the cuſtoms, and to oblige them to ſtand perſonally bound for many other great ſums of money, which other men lent to his majeſty upon their ſecurity. That thereupon, and for the repayment of thoſe

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ſums which the farmers had advanced, and for ſecuring them from any damage, for thoſe monies which others had lent upon their obligations, his late majeſty with the advice of the then lord-treaſurer and the chancellor of the Exchequer, had granted a further leaſe of his cuſtoms to thoſe farmers for three or four years to come, after the expiration of their former leaſe, with a covenant on his majeſty's part to pay the intereſt for all ſuch monies as were advanced by them, or for which they ſtood bound, and likewiſe, that they ſhould, out of their growing rent, deduct ſuch ſums of money by the year as they had lent and been bound for, according to ſuch proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was well known, that ſhortly after the beginning of the parliament in 1640, and before the commencement of the ſecond leaſe, the houſe of commons did not only force the ſaid farmers to pay a very great ſum of money for their preſumption in receiving cuſtoms, and impoſitions upon merchandize in the former years, when they pretended ſuch payments were not due, but took alſo from them their new leaſe granted to them by the king; and ſo left them, without any capacity of reimburſing themſelves of the money they had lent, and likewiſe at the mercy of their creditors, to whom they ſtood bound, many of whom quickly begun to exerciſe that ſeverity towards them, that many of the poor gentlemen had their eſtates extended upon judgments and recogniſances, and their perſons taken in execution, and committed to priſon, where ſome of them, who had been known to have great eſtates, as Sir Paul Pindar and others, were forced to end their lives. There were very few circumſtances in the late king's misfortunes, which gave him more trouble, or ſo much afflicted him, as the ſenſe he had of the horrid and unjuſt ſufferings thoſe poor gentlemen

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underwent for him, and their affection for his ſervice; which he often publiely mentioned, and as often declared that he held himſelf obliged to make them full reparation, as ſoon as God ſhould enable him; and he frequently ſpoke to the chancellor, who was then chancellor of the Exchequer, of that affair, of the good opinion he had of the men, and of the great ſervices thy had done for his majeſty, and commanded him eſpecially, when it ſhould fall within his power, he ſhould do them all the right he could: and of this he had often informed his majeſty during the time he was abroad, and after his return, without any other motive than his father's command and his own honour, having himſelf never had any degree of friendſhip with any of the perſons concerned, and a very ordinary acquaintance with ſome of them. Upon his majeſty's happy return thoſe gentlemen who were alive of the old farmers, who were Sir John Jacob, Sir Job Harby, Sir Nicholas Criſpe, and Sir John Harriſon, and applied themſelves to the king, having lain ſeveral years, and at that time remaining in execution in ſeveral priſons; and having had their eſtates ſold, upon the proſecution of thoſe creditors, to whom they were bound for money lent unto his majeſty.

As ſoon as care was taken for collecting the revenue, thoſe four gentlemen named before, and two others, who had ſerved his majeſty very well, were appointed his commiſſioners for collecting the cuſtoms and duties upon trade, in which collection they continued a year or thereabouts; during which time many of their creditors, who had generouſly forborne to proſecute them whilſt they were in priſon and undone, begun now to commence their actions againſt them, preſuming they were then, or would ſhortly be able to ſatisfy them; whereupon the king commanded the lord treaſurer

treaſurer and the chancellor, with ſome other lords, to ſend for thoſe creditors, and to declare to them, that his majeſty would, in a ſhort time, enable his farmers to pay their juſt debts, which he well knew were contracted for his ſervice, and that he would take it very well from them, if they would for the preſent give no obſtruction to his ſervice, by the proſecution of thoſe perſons at law, whoſe time was ſolely taken up in the neceſſary ſervice of his majeſty: whereupon they willingly deſiſted from that proſecution; and many of them, finding now that by his majeſty's favour they were like to recover their debts they before thought to be deſperate, remitted the whole or part of the intereſt, that in ſtrictneſs of law was ſtill due to them. His majeſty ſhortly after, finding it beſt for his profit to determine the collection by comiſſion, and to let the whole farm, gave direction to the lord treaſurer to confer and treat with any fit perſons. Many overtures were made by ſeveral perſons, and ſome applied themſelves directly to his majeſty; upon which, after a competent time in conſidering all that had been propoſed, the king appointed a day, when he would be attended by the lord treaſurer and others of the lords, and when all the pretenders ſhould likewiſe be preſent; and he would then and there declare his own judgement, having firſt declared to the commiſſioners (whereof four were the old farmers, to whom ſo much money was due) that whoſoever ſhould take the farm, they ſhould be obliged to pay them their juſt debt, at ſuch times, and by ſuch proportions as his ſervices could bear; but, as to the letting the farm itſelf, he would neither conſider the debt he owed them, nor the ſufferings they had undergone, but only the rent they ſhould offer, which if as much as any body elſe would give, he would prefer their perſons before others; but if

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any other fit men would offer more than they thought to give, they ſhould be his farmers; and therefore wiſhed them well to conſider what they would propoſe to him. After two days ſpent by his majeſty with the ſeveral pretenders apart, and finding that the propoſitions made to him by the old farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined, who had ſerved with them as commiſſioners, were at leaſt as much, if not more for his profit than any that had been made by any of the reſt, he did declare that the farm ſhould be let to thoſe who had been his commiſſioners; which, at that time, was underſtood to be ſo far from being a good bargain, that the two commiſſioners, who were not concerned in the great debt, utterly refuſed to meddle with the farm at ſo great a rent: the other four publicly declaring, at the ſame time, that they would not give the rent but in contemplation of their debt, which they thought they ſhould ſooner and better receive, when it ſhould be aſſigned upon their collections, than when it ſhould be charged upon new farmers; but they were ſuitors to his majeſty, that he would oblige the other two (Sir John Wolſtenholme and Sir John Shaw) to be joint farmers with them, which his majeſty did by making a gracious promiſe to them, that, if they ſhould be loſers, he would repair them; and thereupon directions were given to Mr. attorney-general to prepare a grant accordingly; and he ſaid he did not know that there was one diſſenting voice from what his majeſty inclined to do upon the whole matter, the ſame appearing to every man to be moſt juſt and reaſonable.

The farm being thus ſettled, the old farmers were directed to bring their accounts to the lord-treaſurer and chancellor of the Exchequer, by which it ſhould manifeſtly

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appear how much the king was juſtly and truly indebted to them, and how the debts were incurred, that ſo upon a juſt computation ſuch ſatisfaction might be made to them, as was conſiſtent with the preſent ſtate of his majeſty's affairs and occaſions. Many months, if not a whole year, were ſpent in the examination of thoſe accounts before the auditors, who, beſides the exceptions they took, for want of ſome formalities in the proof of ſome money paid; which, after twenty years of licenſe, in which all their books and papers had been taken, their houſes plundered, and their perſons impriſoned; and in which ſo many perſons employed by the king to receive, and them to pay money, were dead, could hardly be made with the uſual exactneſs, made likewiſe ſeveral certificates of particular caſes, which required further directions. And the lord-treaſurer would never take upon himſelf to give thoſe directions, only declaring to them, as he had frequently done, that in regard his majeſty was not ſtrictly bound in juſtice to pay that debt due from his father; but that his preſent majeſty's generous and royal diſpoſition had prevailed with him to pay that juſt debt whereby they might be preſerved from ruin, in which he ſaid he had fully concurred with his majeſty; but that he would never adviſe him; on the contrary, he would always diſſuade his majeſty from paying, or allowing an intereſt, tho' paid by them, which would ſwell the debt to ſuch a proportion, that his majeſty could never undertake the payment of it; which determination, how great ſoever their loſs appeared to be, ſeemed to be ſo juſt, at leaſt ſo neceſſary for the king, that they wholly referred it to his majeſty, hoping that it might prevail with many of their creditors not to exact it from them, tho' the ſale of their whole eſtates had made ſatisfaction to others for the whole

intereſt, as well as for the principal. When the auditor's certificate was ready, and all the doubts and queſtions that did ariſe thereupon, were clearly ſtated, his majeſty vouchſafed again to be preſent with the other lords, who had from the beginning aſſiſted in the examination of that buſineſs, and then the lord-treaſurer declared to his majeſty what he had before ſaid to the perſons concerned; and tho' he willingly approved his majeſty's goodneſs, in taking upon himſelf that great debt, yet that he would by no means give his advice or conſent, that he ſhould pay or allow any intereſt for it. Upon the whole matter, and upon all the doubts ſtated to his majeſty, and after the rejection of ſeveral of the ſums of money which were demanded by them, and for the payment whereof ſuch direct proof was not made, as is required by the courſe of the Exchequer, that he ſaid he thought moſt perſons who were preſent, were in their private conſciences well ſatisfied, that thoſe ſums had been in truth paid to his majeſty's uſe, as had been alledged. There appeared to his majeſty to be juſtly due to them the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds principal money for almoſt twenty years, and for which they had paid the intereſt for many years out of their own eſtates; and his majeſty thought it very juſt, and with many gracious expreſſions of his purpoſe and reſolution further to repair them, as he ſhould be able, gave order to the lord treaſurer, that the ſaid debt of two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be paid to them in five years, that is, by forty thouſand pounds for each year out of the rent of the farm; and that all inſtruments neceſſary for their ſatisfaction and ſecurity, ſhould be preſently given to them, whereby they might be able to comply with their creditors, and avoid their importunity, wherewith his majeſty begun to

be troubled as much as themſelves. He did confeſs himſelf to be preſent at thoſe agitations, and to have contributed his humble advice and opinion to his majeſty, that he ſhould pay this debt, which he thought himſelf obliged to do, as well as a faithful counſellor to his preſent majeſty, as in diſcharge of his duty and obligation to his father, and he ſaid, he had very good reaſon to believe, that if two hundred thouſand pounds be paid according to his majeſty's direction, and of which the heirs and executors of thoſe farmers who were dead, as well as the four preſent farmers have their equal proportions, that the ſaid perſons have not at this day half the eſtates they had in the year 1640, when they entered into thoſe engagements for his majeſty; nor was there any one perſon preſent at the agitation of this affair, who ſeemed in the leaſt degree to differ in the opinion, or to diſſuade his majeſty from giving that ſatisfaction for that debt.

He ſaid, he did likewiſe very willingly confeſs, that he had, in the manner aforeſaid, and being called to adviſe, given his opinion for the payment of many other conſiderable debts incurred by his late majeſty, and for which many perſons of honour, who adhered to him during that war, were perſonally for him, and whoſe eſtates had been extended, and their perſons impriſoned for the ſame, many of whom were in execution and in priſon for the ſame, when his majeſty returned; and others were then ſued in Weſtminſter-hall, in his majeſty's own courts. His late majeſty having granted, under his great ſeal of England, to ſeveral perſons, intruſted for the reſt, many of his foreſts, parks, and other lands, for their ſecurity and indemnity, who were or ſhould ſtand bound for him for money that was then borrowed for, and applied to the neceſſary ſupport of himſelf

ſelf and his army, and to no other purpoſe; and in that grant he had been particularly truſted, as well by the deſire of the perſons particularly concerned, as by his majeſty's command to be ſollicitous for their ſatisfaction; and he did not deny that he was very glad, then when he was able to procure ſatisfaction for thoſe perſons who were ſo bound, and ſo ſecured, nor more troubled than that he could no more, and that there remained ſtill ſo many unſatisfied, and almoſt undone for thoſe debts ſo contracted; of which number he believed there were ſtill too many; but having made thoſe clear confeſſions of what was truth, and what he did do in thoſe tranſactions, he ſaid, he muſt as poſitively deny, that ever he procured, or adviſed the letting his majeſty's cuſtoms, or any other part of his revenue at under-rates; on the contrary, that he uſed all the ways he could to advance the rents, without reſpect of perſons; and that he was never preſent at the letting any farm, that any men would have given more for than they did to whom it was let. What offers ſoever were made afterwards, when his majeſty himſelf made a contract, and when a grant was iſſued accordingly under the great ſeal of England; and he did as poſitively deny that he ever received, or expected the leaſt ſum of money, or money worth for any leaſe made by his majeſty of his cuſtoms, or any other part of his revenue, or for the payment of any one debt made by his majeſty, to which he was or was not bound; he having, (he ſaid) never had any other motive for the performance of thoſe offices, but the pure and intire conſideration of his majeſty's honour, juſtice, and profit, and his own inclination to gratify worthy perſons, who in juſtice ought to be, or might with juſtice be gratified and obliged, and who had

had commonly been ſuch perſons, to whom he had no kind of obligation.

The ſeventh article was, that he had received great ſums of money from the company of the vintners, or ſome of them or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties, which they had incurred.

He ſaid, if he had been in the leaſt degree guilty of that charge, it would very eaſily have been proved, and the vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being perſons who never thought themſelves beholding to him, and ſo not obliged to conceal any of his corruptions. They well knew that he could never be prevailed with to conſent to the inhancing the prices of their wines; and that he never had received from them the leaſt ſum of money, or other gratuity from them in his life. He ſaid, he did remember, that at a time when his majeſty had refuſed to grant all their other petitions, the company of vintners did complain, that there were ſo many informations againſt them, proſecuted againſt them by informers in the Exchequer, that they muſt give over their trades, and be likewiſe undone, if they ſhould be ſeverely purſued for what was paſt, and therefore they beſought his majeſty in council, that he would pardon what was paſt; and that for the future they would treſpaſs no more; whereupon his majeſty thought it worthy of his mercy to ſhelter them for the preſent from that proſecution, and thereupon commanded his attorney-general to call the informers before him, and to appoint the vintners to pay them ſuch reaſonable rewards for their pains as he thought fit;

fit; thereupon he ſhould enter a noli proſequi, but his majeſty charged them for the future not to run into the ſame danger; and as this grace from his majeſty was not upon his promotion, but purely from his own bounty and goodneſs, from which no body diſſuaded him, ſo he never received the leaſt profit from the ſame.

The eighth is, that he had, in a ſhort time, gained to himſelf a far greater eſtate than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in ſo ſhort a time; and, contrary to his oath, he had procured ſeveral grants under the great ſeal from his majeſty to himſelf, and to his relations, of ſeveral of his majeſty's lands, hereditaments, and leaſes, to the diſprofit of his majeſty.

To this he ſaid, that he wiſhed with all his heart, that the truth of that article, which he preſumed had drawn on all the reſt, was clearly known to all the world; and that they who in truth did believe that he had got a great eſtate, were well informed what it is, and that they would then clearly diſcern that he need not be aſhamed of having gotten ſuch an eſtate, nor that he needed have any recourſe to any ill acts or means for the obtaining thereof: they would know that he had been ſo far from procuring ſeveral grants under the great ſeal of England, from his majeſty to himſelf and his relations, of his majeſty's lands, hereditaments, and leaſes, to the diſprofit of his majeſty, that he never moved his majeſty in his life for any one grant to himſelf or any of his relations; and if his majeſty's royal bounty had diſpoſed him to confer ſomewhat of benefit and advantage upon an old ſervant, who had waited upon his father and himſelf near thirty years, in ſome truſt or employment, he

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ſaid, he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime in him to receive his favours. He was far from believing or imagining that the poor ſervices he had ever done, or could do, were in any degree proportionable to his majeſty's bounty; yet ſince his majeſty's goodneſs had thought him fit for it, he hoped many others would think ſo too; at leaſt as fit as ſome men, who had received greater marks and proportions of it than he had done, and who, tho' they might ſerve much better, had not ſerved ſo long. He ſaid he forbore to enlarge upon that charge, becauſe he conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by thoſe, who did not believe it themſelves, to think his eſtate very great, that the information they received was without ground; and whoever conſiders, that the firſt year, after the king's return, yielded juſtly more profit to the great ſeal, than he ever received in all the years following, and ſome particular acts of bounty conferred on him by his majeſty without the leaſt ſuit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his fault was greater in having no better an eſtate than that what he had, hath been gotten by corruption. He ſaid, he hath none of his majeſty's lands but what he had bought, for as much as any body would pay for it, of thoſe who had the ſame granted to them by his majeſty's bounty, and that grant confirmed to them by act of parliament, and he preſumed that it could not have fallen from his majeſty's memory, and was ſure was well known to ſome perſons of honour yet alive, that when his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, upon his firſt coming over, to offer him ſome lands that had never yielded any thing to the crown, he abſolutely refuſed to receive it, becauſe it was generally thought to be of great value, and therefore he would not expoſe himſelf to the envy

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which naturally attends thoſe donations, having in truth never had an immoderate appetite to make haſte to be rich, and had as much apprehended the being accuſed of witchcraft or burglary, as of bribery and corruption. In a word, he did declare, that his debts being diſcharged, for which he paid intereſt, all his eſtate was not worth, being ſold, the money that he had received from his majeſty's own royal bounty, and far from being ſuitable to the quality he yet held, and which was never obtained by his own ambition, as many perſons of honour could teſtify.

The ninth article was, that he had introduced an arbitrary government in his majeſty's foreign plantations, and had cauſed ſuch as complained thereof before his majeſty, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing.

To this he ſaid, that though he could not poſſibly comprehend the full meaning of that article, yet becauſe he had heard of many diſcourſes made of the authority that he aſſumed to himſelf over the plantations, and the great advantage and benefit that he had drawn to himſelf from thence, he was very willing to take that occaſion to relate all that he knew, and all that he had done with reference to any of his majeſty's plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them by all the ways that could reaſonably be propoſed to him; and he had been confirmed in that opinion and deſire, as ſoon as he had a view in the entries of the Cuſtom-houſe, by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from thoſe plantations, inſomuch as the receipts from thence had upon the matter repaired the decreaſe and diminution of the cuſtoms, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade, from what it had formerly

formerly yielded; the firſt conſideration that offered itſelf before the king, that related to the plantations, was concerning Barbadoes; which having been moſt diſcourſed of ſince, and as he had heard with ſome reflections upon him of partiality and injuſtice, he ſaid he would, in the firſt place, ſet down all he knew in that affair, and how he came to meddle in it.

Before the beginning of the late troubles, the king had granted the iſland of Barbadoes to the earl of Carliſle and his heirs for ever, upon a ſuppoſition that it had been firſt diſcovered, poſſeſſed, and planted at his charge; and the ſaid earl ſent a governor and people thither, and enjoyed it to his death, and by his will ſettled it for the payment of his debts, which were very great; the troubles falling out, in a ſhort time after, little or no profit had been drawn from thence towards the ſatisfaction of thoſe debts, and the executors and truſtees totally neglected the taking care of it, or proſecuting the plantation: but in, and after the war, many citizens, merchants, and gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themſelves from England, tranſported themſelves thither, and planted without asking any body's leave, and without being oppoſed or contradicted by any body. About the year 1643, or thereabouts, the late earl of Carliſle, ſon and heir of the former earl, to whom the inheritance of that iſland belonged, treated with the late lord Willoughby of Parham, how the iſland might be ſo husbanded, that the plantation might be advanced, and profit made by it, which would at laſt redound to himſelf, when the debt ſhould be paid. The late king was then in the hands of the army, and with his majeſty's approbation and conſent, it was agreed between the ſaid earl and the ſaid lord, that a leaſe ſhould be made by the earl of Carliſle to

the lord Willoughby of all the profits, which ſhould ariſe out of that plantation for the term of twenty-one years or thereabouts; a moiety of the whole profits to be received by the lord Willoughby himſelf for his own houſe, in recompenſe for his pains and charge; and he was likewiſe to receive a commiſſion from the ſame earl, to be governor of that and the reſt of the Caribbee iſlands (all which were comprehended in the Charter granted by the king to the earl of Carliſle) and that a commiſſion ſhould be likewiſe procured from the king, or the prince of Wales, by which the lord Willoughby was to be conſtituted governor of the ſaid iſlands. About that time the fleet in the Downs returned to their obedience to the king, withdrawing themſelves to the coaſt of Holland, to offer their ſervice to the prince of Wales, his majeſty that now is; the lord Willoughby then likewiſe coming over to him, to ſerve him in any condition his highneſs would employ him. That ſummer being paſſed, without any good ſucceſs, the lord Willoughby then informed the prince, of what had paſſed between the earl of Carliſle and him with the king his father's conſent, which his highneſs had likewiſe received from his majeſty himſelf, with much recommendation of the lord Willoughby. He ſaid he was then attending upon the prince in Holland, as one of the king's council aſſigned by his majeſty for that ſervice. Upon the underſtanding this whole caſe, the prince, upon the unanimous advice of the council, thought fit to grant ſuch a commiſſion of governor of Barbadoes, and the other iſlands, as he deſired; and he had the more reaſon to deſire it (notwithſtanding the earl of Carliſle's grant and commiſſion) becauſe the principal planters upon the Barbadoes had been officers in the king's army, or of manifeſt affections, and always looked upon as of his party. With

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this commiſſion the lord Willoughby had, at his great charge and expence, tranſported himſelf to Barbadoes, and was there received as governor, and made a contract with the planters, that ſo much ſhould be paid upon the hundred to the earl of Carliſle, to whom the propriety of the whole belonged; but before this agreement could be well executed, or any profit drawn from thence, the iſland was reduced to the obedience of the parliament and of Cromwell, and a governor appointed by them, the lord Willoughby being ſent into England, where he remained till the king's return, and had given unqueſtionable evidence of his affection to the king's ſervice, for which he had often been committed to priſon before and after Cromwell's death. As ſoon as the king returned, the lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his leaſe, formerly granted to him by the earl of Carliſle, who was then likewiſe living, and ready to do any other act to the lord Willoughby's advantage) reſolved to return himſelf to the Barbadoes, and deſired the king to renew his commiſſion to him for the government, which his majeſty was very willing to do, as to a perſon he eſteemed very much, and who had ſpent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriouſly known, in that ſervice: but the Barbadoes, and all thoſe other iſlands were now become of another conſideration and value, than they had been of before the troubles: the Barbadoes itſelf was (by that confluence and reſort thither, as was mentioned before) ſo fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had ſent very many of their people to their other iſlands to plant, many citizens of London had raiſed very great eſtates there, and every year received a very great revenue from thence. The king's cuſtoms from that one iſland came to a very great ſum of money yearly; all

thoſe men had entered upon that plantation as a waſte place, and had with great charge brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble begun now to apprehend, that they muſt now begin to depend upon the good-will of the earl of Carliſle and lord Willoughby, for the enjoyment of their eſtates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All theſe men joined together in an appeal to the king, and humbly prayed his protection; and that they might not be oppreſſed by thoſe two lords, they pleaded that they were the king's ſubjects, that they had repaired thither as to a deſolate place, and had by their induſtry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conſcience ſtay in England: that if they ſhould be now left to thoſe lords to ranſom themſelves, and compound for their eſtates, they muſt leave the country, and the plantation would be deſtroyed, which yielded his majeſty ſo good a revenue; that they could defend themſelves by law againſt the earl of Carliſle's title, if his majeſty did not countenance it by a new grant of the government to the lord Willoughby; and therefore they were ſuitors to his majeſty, that he would not deſtroy them by that countenance. At the ſame time the creditors of the late earl of Carliſle (whoſe debts were to be ſatisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and ſettlement of the ſaid earl) petitioned the king that they might be in the firſt place provided for; their principal money due to them at the death of the earl, amounted to no leſs than fifty thouſand pounds; of which they had never yet received one penny, and therefore that the profits, which ſhould ariſe, ought, in the firſt place, to be applied to them, there having been many families utterly ruined for want of their monies ſo due to them. The king appointed to hear all their ſeveral pretences at the council-board, where they

they all attended with their council; and, after his majeſty had ſpent three or four days himſelf in hearing the ſeveral allegations, and finding new pretences and difficulties every day to ariſe (which ſhall be mentioned anon) the king appointed ſeveral of the lords of the council to conſider of the whole matter, and to confer with the ſeveral parties; and, if it were poſſible to make an end between them by their own conſent, otherwiſe to report the ſeveral titles to his majeſty, with ſuch expedients, as in their judgments they thought moſt like to produce a general ſatisfaction without endangering the plantation, the preſervation whereof his majeſty took to heart. The chancellor was one of that committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, and leaſes, and many other papers and diſpatches, which concerned that affair, and conferred with ſeveral of the perſons intereſted, to the end that they might the better diſcern what could be done, having never underſtood or heard any thing of the matter that concerned that plantation, otherwiſe than what he hath before ſet down upon the diſpatch of the lord Willoughby in Holland, nor had he the inclination or biaſs to any party. Upon the hearing all the allegations before the lords, the ſeveral pretences and titles appeared to them to be theſe; which they afterwards reported to the king.

The lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the king but his commiſſion to be governor for the remainder of the years, which had been granted to him by the earl of Carliſle, to the end that he might receive one moiety of thoſe profits which ſhould ariſe to the earl, and which had been aſſigned to him, with the conſent and approbation of the late king, and of his majeſty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and ſpent ſo much of his eſtate.

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The earl of Carliſle, whilſt this contention was depending, died, and by his will deviſed his intereſt in the Barbadoes to the earl of Kinnoule, who likewiſe petitioned the king for the preſervation of his right; but neither he, nor the perſon under whom he claimed, had any pretence till all the debts ſhould be ſatisfied, nor did the earl of Kinnoule demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would ariſe yearly to ſo much, that the debts would quickly be ſatisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

There was another title that preceded the earl of Carliſle's, which was that of the earl of Marlborough, who alledged and proved it to be true, that the Barbadoes and thoſe adjacent iſlands were firſt granted by the king to his grandfather the earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high-treaſurer of England, before the earl of Carliſle had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord-treaſurer had afterwards conſented, that the ſame ſhould be granted to the earl of Carliſle upon a full contract, that he ſhould firſt receive for ever the ſum of three hundred pounds by the year out of the firſt profits of the plantations, which ſum of three hundred pounds had never been yet paid; and therefore the earl of Marlborough deſired, as heir to his grandfather, to have ſatisfaction for the arrears, and that the growing rent might be ſecured to him.

The creditors were of two kinds, the firſt, and who had firſt petitioned the king, as was ſaid before, had an aſſignment made to them by the executors and truſtees of the earl of Carliſle upon his will, and who at his death owed them the full ſum of fifty thouſand pounds or thereabouts: the other creditors conſiſted of ſeveral tradeſmen and artificers to whom the ſaid earl was indebted for wares

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and goods, which they had delivered for his uſe, and of ſeveral ſervants for their arrears of wages; and all theſe had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in Chancery againſt the executors and overſeers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their ſatisfaction out of the profits of thoſe plantations, which decree ſtood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings; and as he remembered, their debts amounded to thirty thouſand pounds or thereabouts; none of the creditors in general, of one or the other ſort, had ever received one ſhilling from the time that the earl had firſt aſſigned it.

The planters inſiſted poſitively, that the charter granted to the earl of Carliſle by the king was void in point of law; for which their council alledged many reaſons, and having ſpent much time upon that argumentation, they concluded with two humble propoſitions to the king: 1ſt, That his majeſty would give them leave to proſecute in his name in the Exchequer, and at their own charge to repeal that grant to the earl of Carliſle, by which they ſhould be freed from the arbitrary power and oppreſſion, which would be exerciſed upon them under the colour of that charter, and his majeſty might receive a great benefit to himſelf, by taking the ſovereignty into his own hands to which it belonged, and in that caſe they offered in their own names, and for the reſt of the planters who were in the iſland, to conſent to an impoſition of ſo much in the hundred, which they confidently averred would amount in the year to ten thouſand pounds at the leaſt, out of which his majeſty's governor might be well ſupported, and his majeſty diſpoſe of the overplus as he ſhould think fit. 2dly, If his majeſty would not ſuffer the charter to be repealed,

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that he would leave thoſe who claimed under the earl of Carliſle's patent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence, which they hoped in juſtice would not be denied to them, ſince they alone had been at the charge to ſettle the plantation, which brought every year ſo great a revenue to the crown, when the earl had not been upon the leaſt expence thereupon: and if his majeſty ſhould not aſſiſt their pretences with his royal authority, they muſt all quit the plantation.

Theſe being the ſeveral pretences of the ſeveral perſons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themſelves, their intereſts being ſo diſtinct and inconſiſtent with each other, his majeſty thought fit, in the firſt place, to refer the conſideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law, who upon full deliberation, and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, that their patent was void, and that his majeſty might take the ſame into his own power. This report was no ſooner made to his majeſty, but that he very graciouſly declared that he would not receive from hence any benefit or advantage to himſelf, until all their pretences had received ſatisfaction; and that he would make no further uſe of avoiding the ſaid charter, than to diſpoſe the profits of the plantation to thoſe who in juſtice had any pretence in law or equity to receive the ſame; and therefore that the lord Willoughby ſhould proceed on his voyage to Barbadoes, and ſhould receive, according to his bargain, a moiety of the profits, and that the other part ſhould be diſpoſed of for the ſatisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances; in order to which his majeſty appointed the ſame committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjuſt the ſeveral proportions.

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When they met again, they had all the perſons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any occaſion; and they all appeared very glad that the king had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himſelf, which was all the ſecurity the planters had or could deſire. And the lords firſt care was to make ſome computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly revenue that would ariſe upon the impoſitions within the iſland: but the planters would not be drawn to any particular agreement in that point, not ſo much as to conſent what ſhould be impoſed upon every hundred. But, on the contrary, declared that too much had been undertaken in that kind by one of their own number, Mr. Kendal, in his diſcourſe before the king in council, and declared that the plantation would not bear the impoſition he had mentioned; that whatſoever was to be done of that nature, was to be tranſacted by an aſſembly in the iſland; and that all that they could promiſe for themſelves was, that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours with their friends in the iſland, that when the lord Willoughby ſhould arrive there and call an aſſembly, they ſhould conſent to as great an impoſition as the plantation would bear; by which, they ſaid, a good revenue would ariſe to the king for the purpoſes aforeſaid.

The creditors had great reaſon to be glad of the reſolution his majeſty had taken; for though it would be a long time before they could be fully ſatisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it ſhould ariſe to the higheſt computation; yet in time they ſhould receive all, and ſhould every year receive ſome, which would leſſen their debt, and relieve thoſe who were in the higheſt neceſſities, of which there were a great number; whereas they had hitherto, in ſo many years, not received one penny; and it

was evident that without his majeſty's authority they never ſhould, ſince the planters were reſolved never to conſent to any impoſition, nor to ſubmit to any authority that ſhould be exerciſed under the earl of Carliſle's patent, without a due courſe of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out, and they underſtood well enough, that without his majeſty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the earl of Carliſle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

The greateſt difficulty that did ariſe was from the earl of Kinnoule, to whom the laſt earl of Carliſle had deviſed thoſe iſlands by his will; and he had a great mind to go thither himſelf, and take poſſeſſion of his right; and his council had perſuaded him, that the king's charter granted to the firſt earl of Carliſle was good and valid in law; and that they believed they could defend and maintain it in any court of juſtice. Then his own eſtate in Scotland was ſo totally loſt by the iniquity of the time, and his father having ſo frankly declared himſelf for the king, when very few of that nation loſt any thing for their loyalty, that he had very little left to ſupport himſelf; and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare ſubſiſtance; but when he conſidered again, that he could have no pretence to any thing till after the creditors were fully ſatisfied, and how long it was like to be before they could be ſatisfied, there remaining ſtill due to the creditors of both kinds, no leſs than fourſcore thouſand pounds principal money, he did not believe that his inſiſting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he muſt inevitably be put to; and therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himſelf.

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and all his intereſt to the king's gracious determination, as all the reſt of the pretenders and intereſted perſons had done.

The caſe being thus fully ſtated to the lords, and every man's intereſt and pretence clearly appearing before them, they conſidered ſeriouſly amongſt themſelves what they might reaſonably propoſe to the ſeveral perſons in order to their agreement amongſt themſelves; or that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reaſonably give his majeſty, they were unanimouſly of opinion not to adviſe his majeſty to cauſe the patent to be called in queſtion. For tho' they doubted not upon the opinion of his learned council, tha the ſame would be judged void and illegal, yet they did not think it a ſeaſonable time, when the nation was ſo active and induſtrious in foreign plantations, that they ſhould ſee a charter of patent queſtioned and avoided, after it hath been ſo many years allowed and countenanced, and under which it had ſo long flouriſhed, and was almoſt grown to perfection; and that, ſince his majeſty had declared, that notwithſtanding any right of his own, all poſſible care ſhould be taken for the ſatisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the preſervation and ſupport of the plantation, it would be equally equitable and honourable in his majeſty not to leave the earl of Kinnoule the only perſon unconſidered, and bereaved of all his pretence; but that they would humbly move his majeſty, that he would graciouſly vouchſafe to aſſign ſome preſent maintenance to the ſaid earl, which his preſent condition required, out of the revenue that ſhould be there ſettled, and until the debts ſhould be paid; and that, after that time, ſuch an augmentation might be made to him, as his majeſty, in his royal bounty ſhould think fit; in conſideration whereof the earl ſhould procure the patent

to be brought in and ſurrendered, which he promiſed ſhould be done accordingly, as ſoon as the ſettlement ſhould be made of that proportion, which ſhould be aſſigned to him. That the lord Willoughby ſhould enjoy the benefit of his former contract with the earl of Carliſle, and be approved of by his majeſty during the remainder of thoſe years which are not yet expired. That he ſhould make what haſte he could thither, and call an aſſembly, to the end that ſuch an impoſition might be agreed upon to be paid to his majeſty, as ſhould be reaſonable, in conſideration of the great benefit they had already, and ſhould ſtill enjoy, in being continued and ſecured in their ſeveral plantations; in which, as yet, they were as it were, but tenants at will, having no other pretence of right but the poſſeſſion; and therefore, that thoſe merchants and planters, who had petitioned the king, ſhould, according to their obligation and promiſe made by them to his majeſty, uſe all their credit with thoſe in the iſland, that the impoſition might ariſe to ſuch a proportion, that the revenue might anſwer the ends propoſed.

That the annuity of 300 l. by the year ſhould be paid to the earl of Marlborough, according to the original contract mentioned before; and that the aſſignment that his majeſty would likewiſe be pleaſed to make to the earl of Kinnoule ſhould be firſt paid, and then that the remainder of that moiety ſhould be received to the uſe of the creditors; and that, when the lord Willoughby's term ſhould be expired, his majeſty ſhould be deſired, after the reſervation of ſo much as he ſhould think fit for the ſupport of his governor, all the remainder might be continued towards the creditors, until their juſt debts ſhould be paid.

Theſe particulars appearing ſo reaſonable to the lords, all perſons concerned were called, and the ſame communicated

municated to them, who appeared well contented, and thereupon the lords reſolved to preſent the ſame to his majeſty, which they did accordingly at the board, and his majeſty with a full approbation and advice of the whole council ratified the ſame. Whereupon the order was made by the king in council, which comhrehended all the particulars mentioned before, which was delivered to the lord Willoughby with his majeſty's expreſs command, that he ſhould ſee it punctually and preciſely executed; and the like order was delivered by the clerk of the council to every other perſon mentioned, who deſired the ſame; to which order he did for the more certainty refer himſelf, being in no degree confident (having then no other help than his memory) that all was ſet with that exactneſs as it ought to be; and he ſaid, as he had throughout the whole affair, taken very great pains to reduce it to that agreement, which at that time ſeemed to be ſatisfactory to all the perſons concerned, ſo he had not the leaſt temptation of particular benefit to himſelf, and he did ſtill believe it to be very juſt, reaſonable, and agreeable to his majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs, all circumſtances being conſidered; and though it may be, in ſtrictneſs of law, and by the avoiding the grant made to the earl of Carliſle, his majeſty might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole iſland without any tender conſideration of the planters or the creditors, he ſaid he was not aſhamed that he had never given his majeſty that or the like council, in that or any other matter of the like nature; and if he had, he was confident his majeſty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

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The other part of that article, that he had cauſed ſuch as complained of the arbitrary government of the plantations before the king and council, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing, did refer, he ſuppoſed, to the commitment of one farmer, who being ſent over a priſoner by the lord Willoughby in a ſhip that came from thence, made his appearance at Oxford, his majeſty being then there in the ſickneſs time, which he ſaid was the firſt moment that he had ever heard of the man or the matter. And at the ſame time one of the ſecretaries of ſtate received a letter from the lord Willoughby, which was ſent by the ſame ſhip, in which his lordſhip had ſent a direct full charge of mutiny, ſedition, and treaſon againſt the ſaid farmer, and by his letter informed the ſecretary of all his behaviour and carriage, with all the circumſtances thereof; and that he had, by his ſeditious practices, prevailed ſo far upon a diſaffected party in that iſland, that the lord Willoughby found himſelf obliged in the inſtant to ſend him on board the ſhip, without which he did apprehend a general revolt in the iſland from his majeſty's obedience; and he did therefore deſire that Farmer might not be ſuffered to return thither, before the iſland ſhould be reduced to a better temper. The man was called in before the king and council, and the charge, that the lord Willoughby had ſent, read to him, the greateſt part whereof he could not deny, and in his diſcourſe upon it, he behaved himſelf ſo peremptorily and inſolently before the king, that his majeſty thought it very neceſſary to commit him; nor did any one counſellor then preſent appear to think otherwiſe, and he did confeſs, that the diſcharging him from his impriſonment was ſometime after moved; and that he was always againſt his diſcharge, being of opinion, that it would be impoſſible for the lord Willoughby

Willoughby, or any other governor in any of the plantations, to preſerve his majeſty's right, and to ſupport the governor if he ſhould be ſo far diſcountenanced, that a man being ſent over by him as a priſoner under ſo particular and heinous a charge, ſhould be, upon his appearance here, ſet at liberty; but his opinion was, that he ſhould be ſent back a priſoner, that he might be tried by the law and juſtice of the iſland, and receive condign puniſhment for his offence; and he ſaid he would not deny but that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion, and if it were an error, it proceeded from the weakneſs of his underſtanding, which was not in his power to reform.

He ſaid what he had here ſet down was all that occured to his memory with reference to the iſland of Barbadoes, which being not particularly mentioned in the article, but comprehended under the general expreſſion of his majeſty's foreign plantations, and ſecretly and maliciouſly inſinuated in private diſcourſes, he took himſelf to be obliged to give ſome anſwer to what, how generally ſoever, had been charged, and he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime to him, if he had taken more pains than other men in that important ſervice of his majeſty concerning his foreign plantations, which he did not think had been enough taken to heart; and if his deſire and readineſs to take any pains, or give any aſſiſtance to the advancement of that ſervice, had induced many perſons to apply themſelves to him on thoſe occaſions, he hoped it would not be charged upon him as over-activity, or ambition, to engroſs more buſineſs into his hands, than he was intitled to; for which he had this excuſe to make for himſelf, that he found the pains he took to be acceptable to his majeſty, and he was ſo far from having any particular deſign of advantage to himſelf, that he

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did profeſs and declare, that from all, or any of his majeſty's plantations he had never received the leaſt reward, or leaſt preſent made to him, except that the now lord Willoughby once told that his brother had ſent over ſome pieces of the ſpeckled wood which grows in Surinam, with direction that if he liked it, he might have what he would of it. Whereupon he had ſome pieces of it, which he thought might have been applied to the making of cabinets, or the adornining of wainſcot; but, as they were very ſmall, ſo the middle of every piece was wind-ſhaken and rotten; that they could not be applied to any conſiderable uſe, and, except ſome blocks of walnut-tree, which the governor of Virginia ſent to him, and of which he made ſome table-boards and frames for chairs; the workmanſhip whereof coſt much more than the wood was worth: and theſe two particulars contained all the rewards, and preſents, or profit, that ever he received from all his majeſty's plantations, or any body to his uſe.

The tenth article was, that he did reject and fruſtrate a propoſal and undertaking approved by his majeſty for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, and reducing the French plantations to his majeſty's obedience, after the commiſſions were drawn for that purpoſe; which was the occaſion of ſuch great loſſes and damages in thoſe parts.

To which he anſwered, that he never did reject or fruſtrate any ſuch propoſal or undertaking, never taking upon him in the leaſt degree, to make a judgment of enterprizes of that nature, nor was ever any ſuch propoſition made to him; but he did very well remember, that his majeſty himſelf did once deliver to the council a paper,

which

which, he ſaid, one of his ſervants (Mr. Marſh) had preſented to him, containing ſome propoſitions for ſhips and men to be ſent by his majeſty for the recovery of St. Chriſtopher's, which had been newly taken by the French. Upon the reading which paper and propoſitions, the ſame were referred to the conſideration of the general, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and to the vice-chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. Marſh, and ſuch other as joined with him; and they were at the ſame time appointed to conſider of another propoſition delivered in writing, by the now lord Willoughby, and ſome merchants of London, who were planters in the Barbadoes, for the ſupplying and better ſecuring that iſland, and the reſt of thoſe Caribbee iſlands, and for the reducing and recovering any of them, which were or might be taken by the enemy; upon the latter of which ſomewhat was afterwards done; and, if the other concerning Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's was rejected) of which he ſaid he knew nothing) he preſumed it was, becauſe it either appeared unpracticable, or not conſiſtent with his majeſty's other affairs.

The eleventh article was, that he adviſed and effected the ſale of Dunkirk to the French king, being part of his majeſty's dominions, together with the ammunition, artillery, and all ſorts of ſtores there, and for no greater value, than the ſaid ammunition, artillery, and ſtores were worth.

This whole tranſaction of the ſale of Dunkirk, with all the circumſtances, is ſo fully related in this diſcourſe, in the place, and at the time when this affair was tranſacted, that any repetition here is to no purpoſe; and whoſoever turns back and reads it, will clearly ſee, that he had no hand

in the council, though he is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not neceſſary, as his majeſty's affairs at that time ſtood: to which may be added, that the treatment he received after his coming into France, was an unqueſtionable evidence, that the king did never take himſelf to be beholden to him for that or any other ſervice, as in truth he never was.

The twelfth article was, that he did unduly cauſe his majeſty's letters patents under the great ſeal of England, to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the inrollment thereof to be unduly razed.

To which he ſaid, that when he heard of this charge, he could not comprehend what the meaning thereof was, being moſt aſſured, that he had never cauſed any alteration to be made in any of his majeſty's letters patents under the great ſeal, or the inrollment thereof ſo to be razed; but, upon enquiry, he was informed, that Dr. Crowther, who was chaplain to his royal highneſs the duke of York, and had attended upon his perſon during the whole time that his highneſs was beyond the ſeas, upon his majeſty's return into England had obtained from the king his royal preſentation to the parſonage of Tredington in the county of Worceſter; which preſentation, according to courſe, paſſed under the great ſeal of England; that when he brought this action againſt the intruder, who refuſed to give him poſſeſſion, and the record was carried down to the aſſizes in the country, when the defendant's council was to open his title, and thereupon to produce the king's preſentation, they found by peruſal thereof, that either by miſinformation, or negligence of the clerk, inſtead of the county of Worceſter, where the rectory was, the

the county of Warwick was inſerted; upon which miſtake the doctor was neceſſitated to be nonſuited; and thereupon he forthwith made a journey to London, to adviſe with his council, and the moſt experienced clerks, how to recover the misfortune that had befallen him; and that his majeſty's right might not be deſtroyed by ſuch an overſight in the clerk; and, it ſeems, he was by them adviſed, as the uſual way in caſes of that nature, to petition the king, that in his majeſty's preſence, the preſentation might be mended, and Worceſter inſerted inſtead of Warwick; and that thereupon the great ſeal might be again affixed to it; all which was done accordingly, as in ſuch caſes is uſual.

The thirteenth article was, that he had, in an arbitrary way, examined and drawn into queſtion divers of his majeſty's ſubjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and properties; determined thereof at the council table, and ſtopp'd proceedings at law, and threatened ſome that pleaded the ſtatute of 17 Car.

To this he ſaid, he muſt here again lament his own misfortunes, that he was expoſed to publick Reproach under a general odious charge, without inſerting any one particular, to which he might make his defence; he had therefore no more to ſay, but that he was very innocent to any crime laid to his charge in that article; and that he had been ſo far from examining and drawing into queſtion any of his majeſty's ſubjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and chattles, and properties, and determining the ſame at the council-table, and ſtopping proceedings at law, that he did not know or believe, that any one caſe of that nature had been ever determined there, at leaſt when he had

been preſent; that he had always diſcountenanced ſuch addreſſes, and procured all petitions of that kind to be rejected, as often as they had been tender'd; and he ſaid he took himſelf obliged to ſay, for the vindication of his majeſty's honour and juſtice, that there had not been ſo many years paſſed ſince the erection of the council-table, with ſo little diſturbance or diſquiet to the ſubject concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and properties, as hath been ſince his majeſty's happy return; nor hath the ordinary courſe of proceeding at law been leſs obſtructed.

The fourteenth was, that he had cauſed quo warranto's to be iſſued out againſt moſt of the corporations in England, to the intent that he might receive great ſums of money from them, for renewing their charters, which when they complied withal, he cauſed the ſaid quo warranto to be diſcharged, and proſecution thereon to ceaſe.

To this he anſwered, that he never cauſed any quo warranto to iſſue out againſt one corporation in England; but by his majeſty's expreſs command, or by order of the board, which was always upon ſome miſcarriage or misbehaviour in the corporation; and that he did not remember that he had ever moved the king againſt any particular corporation but that of Woodſtock, and which his duty to his majeſty had obliged him to do; and being his majeſty's ſteward of his majeſty's honour and manor of Woodſtock, upon which that borough had always depended. He ſaid, his majeſty having conferred that charge upon him, he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of it by the death of the late earl of Lindſey, who enjoyed that place before, than he received a petition from ſeveral inhabitants and burgeſſes of the borough of Woodſtock

ſtock, who complained that the mayor and juſtices had lately procured their charter to be renewed, without the privity or conſent of the borough; and that, under pretence of renewing it, they had procured many new clauſes to be inſerted, and thereby reduced much of the government, which before depended on the whole corporation, into their own hands; and had thereby likewiſe procured a piece of ground, the benefit whereof did formerly belong to all the burgeſſes, and was uſually applied to the relief of ſuch of them who were decayed in their eſtates, to be now granted to the mayor, and a ſelect number of juſtices, and the profits thereof to be at their diſpoſal to the great prejudice of the borough and the inhabitants thereof. He referred this petition to Mr. Juſtice Moreton, who lived within four or five miles thereof, and deſired him to examine the truth of thoſe allegations, and to certify him whether the complaints were juſt and reaſonable; whereupon he took the pains to go to the town, and to confer with the mayor and juſtices, and heard the allegations of the petitioners; and upon the whole matter certified, that he found ſeveral important alterations in the new charter from what had been in the old, and ſome new conceſſions; and at the ſame time Sir William Fleetwood, who was ranger of the parks, certified him, that ſince the renewing their charter, the mayor and juſtices were not ſo good neighbours to his majeſty's game as they had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of thoſe ſervices which they had uſed to perform; and that when any treſpaſſes were committed by thoſe of the borough upon his majeſty's woods or game, which happened very frequently, and complaint was thereof made to the mayor and juſtices, who had the ſole juriſdiction within the borough, there was ſo ſlight and perfunctory examination thereof, that the

the proſecutors were wearied out, and no juſtice could be obtained: that it was his duty to inform the king of theſe proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his direction to his attorney-general, to bring a quo warranto, and to repeal the charter which had been ſo unduly procured, and in which his majeſty had been ſo groſly deceived and abuſed, and he did believe that there was the leſs vigour uſed in the proſecution of that quo warranto, becauſe the mayor and juſtices for ſome time had pretended that they would ſurrender the ſaid charter, and receive a new one in ſuch a manner as his majeſty thought fit, tho' they afterwards changed their mind; and this was the only charter he ſaid, which he gave direction for the proſecution of; nor did he ever give order upon the receipt of any money to diſcharge any quo warranto, or cauſe the proſecution thereupon to ceaſe, nor did he ever receive the leaſt ſum of money for the granting or renewing any charter, other than the uſual fees received for the ſame by the clerk of the Hanaper, and accounted to the ſeal; which fee, as he did remember, did amount to thirteen ſhillings and four-pence, or thereabouts.

The fifteenth article was, that he procured the bills of ſettlement for Ireland, and received great ſums of money for the ſame, in a moſt corrupt and unlawful manner.

To this article there needs no other anſwer, than what is contained in two ſeveral places of this diſcourſe, in which ſo full a relation is made of the whole ſettlement of Ireland, with all the circumſtances that accompanied it, that it would be to no purpoſe to repeat it in this place, and therein it appears what money the chancellor received from Ireland,

land, and how he came by any, and by what injuſtice he came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the king himſelf, but to very many of thoſe who promoted the accuſation, directly contrary to what they knew to be true.

The ſixteenth article was, that he had deluded and betrayed his majeſty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negociations relating to the late war.

To which he ſaid, that he did heartily wiſh that thoſe particular treaties, and the particulars in thoſe treaties had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that he had deluded and betrayed his majeſty, that he might at large have ſet down whatſoever he had known or done in thoſe treaties; and that it would eaſily have been made appear how far he had been from betraying or deluding him; that it was never any ambition of his own that brought him to have a part in any treaty. He ſaid, God knows, that he heartily wiſhed to have meddled in nothing but the adminiſtration of that great office the king had thought fit to have truſted him with; but his majeſty had then ſo good an opinion of him, that he required and commanded his ſervice in many of thoſe treaties; and therefore it would be neceſſary for him, according to the method he had hitherto uſed, to mention every particular treaty that had been entered into ſince the time of his majeſty's return into England, and the part that he had in it, being as willing to be called to the ſtricteſt account for any other treaty he had been engaged in, when he had been abroad, or for any council he had ever given in his life, public or private, wherein he doubted not but he ſhould be found

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to have behaved himſelf (according to the weak ability God had given him) with fidelity to his maſter, and all imaginable affection to his country, how unhappily ſoever he had been repreſented.

The firſt treaty, he ſaid, was with the crown of Portugal, in which he was none of the commiſſioners who treated, and was only preſent, when any report was made by the commiſſioners to the king or to the council-board, where all the articles were debated, and he did not remember that there had been any difference of opinion upon any of them, and that treaty had been generally held the beſt that hath been made with any crown, the merchants having thereby greater advantages in trade than they have in any other place, beſides many other great benefits, with a great enlargement of his majeſty's empire.

The ſecond treaty was with the ſtates of the United Provinces, in which likewiſe he was none of the commiſſioners who treated, but all that was by them tranſacted was ſtill brought to the council-board, and debated there in his majeſty's preſence, in which the rule, by which his majeſty guided himſelf, was, that he would not remit any of thoſe conceſſions, which had been formerly made by them in their laſt treaty with Cromwell, and their unwillingneſs to conſent to that, was the reaſon that their ambaſſadors proceeded ſo ſlowly, and his majeſty had the leſs reaſon to be ſollicitous for expedition, becauſe the king of France had given his royal word, and propoſed it himſelf, that the two crowns might proceed in their ſeveral treaties with the Dutch together, that ſo they might be brought to thoſe good conditions, that they might live like good neighbours with both the crowns, which he obſerved they were not naturally inclined to do, and promiſed poſitively, that for his part he would

would not conclude any thing with the Dutch, before he had intirely communicated the ſame to his majeſty; notwithſtanding which engagement, France entered into, and finiſhed their treaty, and in it made that ſecret article, which they declared afterwards to be the ground and their obligation to aſſiſt the Dutch in the enſuing War: however, his majeſty proceeded not, till the Holland embaſſadors conſented to all that had been before granted to Cromwell; which being done, the peace was made and ratified on both ſides, and without doubt, was with more advantage and honour to the Engliſh, than ever had been provided by any former treaty between the crown of England and thoſe ſtates. From the two crowns of Denmark and Sweden, embaſſadors extraordinary arrived at London, ſhortly after the king's return, and the ſeveral treaties were made with both thoſe crowns before the departure of the embaſſadors; in neither of which treaties the chancellor was a commiſſioner, nor knew any thing that paſſed in either, but as it was repreſented at the council-board, and debated in his majeſty's preſence: nor did he ever hear that either of them was reckoned a diſadvantageous treaty, both of them containing as much benefit to the Engliſh as any treaties which had been made before with theſe crowns. He ſaid it was very true, that there were ſome unuſual expreſſions of kindneſs and friendſhip in the treaty with Denmark, which, in reſpect of that king's being at that time in a very low condition, under the diſadvantageous conditions of the treaty at Copenhagen newly ſubmitted to, and almoſt under as ill a treaty extorted from that crown by the Dutch; and yet being in terrible apprehenſion of ſome new oppoſition from the one, and from the other, the embaſſador did very earneſtly ſollicit to have inſerted, and which were upon great deliberation al-

lowed and inſerted by his majeſty's own particular direction, in conſideration of the near alliance in blood between his majeſty and that king, and the civilities and obligations his majeſty had received from Denmark during his being in Holland after the murder of his father, and during his being in Scotland, when the king of Denmark ſent him horſes, arms, and ammunition; of which his majeſty had ſo great a ſenſe, that he was often heard to ſay, that if it had pleaſed God to have brought him home before that diſadvantageous peace at Copenhagen had been made, which had been done by the countenance of the Engliſh ſhips, and the threats of thoſe who were then embaſſadors from the governing power in England, that he would have done the beſt he could to have defended and protected him; and therefore he did very readily yield to that article drawn by the embaſſador, his majeſty declaring at the ſame time, that he was very willing that thoſe princes, who were neighbours to Denmark, and from whence that kingdom apprehended new oppreſſions, ſhould know his majeſty's reſolutions to ſupport that king, and to defend him from new injuries, to which the policy of his government, as well as his friendſhip inclined and obliged him: tho' it is very true the king of Denmark did ſhortly after make very ill returns to his majeſty for that his ſo ſignal affection.

Theſe were all the treaties made by the king before the war with the Dutch; for there was very little progreſs made either with France or Spain, for the reaſons mentioned before, except only a ſhort treaty with the elector of Brandenburgh; which treaty was, for the moſt part, particular with reference only to the prince of Orange, his majeſty's nephew, and for the better ordering his affairs; in which treaty his majeſty likewiſe employed five or ſix of his council, and the

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few articles between his majeſty and that elector in point of ſtate were likewiſe tranſacted by them, and debated and conſidered at the council-board, and in which all things were inſerted for his majeſty's benefit and ſervice; and if they had not been afterwards violated by the elector, the king would have reaped much fruit and advantage even from that treaty.

After the war was entered into with Holland, his majeſty ſent Mr. Coventry to Sweden, and Sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to diſpoſe thoſe two crowns to a confidence in each other, and then to diſpoſe them both to adhere to his majeſty, or at leaſt not to aſſiſt or favour the Dutch. The treaty with Sweden ſucceeded to his majeſty's wiſh, and was concluded in a league defenſive very much to the king's ſatisfaction, and with the full approbation of the whole board, that crown having manifeſted ſo much affection, and ſuch an inclination to an intire conjunction with him, that upon very reaſonable conditions they would have been induced to have entered into a league offenſive, and even into the preſent war againſt the Dutch; in order to which they ſent their embaſſadors to the king at the ſame time, when Mr. Coventry returned, and they became the mediators for the peace, having firſt declared to his majeſty, that if the treaty ſhould prove ineffectual, the crown of Sweden would immediately join with his majeſty againſt the Dutch. What became of the other treaty with Denmark is publicly known, his majeſty having declared to all the world how perfidiouſly he was treated by the Dane.

There remains only one other treaty to be mentioned, which is the laſt with the Dutch, upon which the peace was made; and therefore it will be neceſſary to ſet down

the inducements to that treaty, the whole progreſs and concluſion of it, by which it will eaſily appear, that his majeſty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or if he were, that it was not done by him after ſo many encounters and various ſucceſſes in the war, which had been carried on with a much greater expence, than his majeſty at his firſt entrance into it, was perſuaded it would coſt him, when he ſaw the ſtrength and power of the Dutch, ſo much increaſed by the conjunction of France and Denmark, who ſupplied with money, ſhips, and what they more wanted, with men, as many as they deſired; and that all the propoſitions he could make to Spain could not induce them to enter into an alliance with him, as might embark them againſt France, notwithſtanding it was evident to all but themſelves, that the French reſolved to break the peace with them, having at that time publiſhed thoſe declarations which they afterwards made the ground of the war. His majeſty clearly diſcerned, that the Dutch grew leſs weary of the war than they had before ſeemed to have been; and that they would be able, with that aſſiſtance and conjunction to continue the war with leſs inconvenience, than his majeſty was like to do. He had found it neceſſary for the ſtreightening the trade of the enemy (the depriving them of which could only induce them to deſire a peace, and which he could not do by the ſtrength of his own ſhips, which were ſtill kept together to encounter their fleet) to grant as many commiſſions upon letters of marque to private men of war as deſired the ſame, and with ſuch ſtrict orders and limitations as are neceſſary in thoſe caſes: and he found indeed the advantage very great in the damage thoſe men of war did to the enemy, which was conſiderable, and gave them great trouble. On the other ſide, the common ſeamen choſe much rather

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to go on board thoſe men of war, where their profit out of their ſhares of the booty was greater, and their hazards much leſs, than in the king's ſhips, where they got only blows without booty, tho' their pay and proviſions were much greater than they had been in any former time, ſo that when the royal fleet was to be ſet out, there was greater difficulty in procuring ſeamen and mariners to man it; and then, whereas the advancement of trade was made the great end of the war, it was now found neceſſary to ſuppreſs all trade, that there might be mariners enough to furniſh the ſhips for the carrying on the war; and this inconvenience produced another miſchief. For by the great diminution and even ſuppreſſion of trade, there was likewiſe ſo great a fall in the cuſtoms, exciſe, and all other branches of the king's revenue, that it was evident enough, that his majeſty would have little to carry on the war, but what ſhould ariſe by impoſition in parliament upon the people, who already complained loudly of the decay of their rents; of the ſmall and low prices which their commodities yielded by the ceſſation of trade, and eſpecially by the carrying all the money in ſpecie from the ſeveral counties to London for the carrying on the war: and the parliament itſelf ſeemed ſo weary of it, that inſtead of granting a new ſupply proportionable to the charge, they fell upon expedients to raiſe money by the ſale of part of the king's revenue, which was already too ſmall to ſupport the ordinary and neceſſary expence of the crown. But above all, his majeſty was moſt diſcouraged by the extreme licenſe of the ſeamen in general, but eſpecially of thoſe who were called privateers, ſet out in the particular ſhips of war upon adventure, who made no diſtinction between friends and foes, but as if the ſea had been their own quarters, they ſeized upon all ſhips which paſſed within their

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view, and either pillaged them intirely, and ſo diſmiſſed them (which they uſually did to thoſe which they foreſaw would be delivered by the courſe of juſtice) or elſe brought them into the harbours, after they had taken from them what they beſt liked; and then the formal proceedings in the court of Admiralty were ſo dilatory, and involved in ſo many appeals, that the proſecution of juſtice for injuries grew as grievous as the injury itſelf, which drew a univerſal clamour from all nations, that without being parties of the war, they were all treated as enemies. France had made the damage they had this way received, and the interruption of their trade, a great part of their quarrel, and one ground of their conjunction with the Dutch: from Spain, which really wiſhed better to us than to our enemies, the complaints were as great, that their whole trade was deſtroyed, their ſhips of Flanders, which ſupplied Spain with what they wanted for themſelves, and with what was neceſſary for their trade and intercourſe with the Indies, were all taken as Dutch, becauſe it was very hard to diſtinguiſh them by their language, which was likewiſe the caſe of all the Hans towns, which made grievous complaints, and had without doubt received great damage. Thoſe princes of Italy, whoſe dominions reached to the ſea, as the two republics of Venice and Genoa, and the duke of Florence expoſtulated very grievouſly for their ſhips taken by thoſe free-booters of Scotland and of Ireland, which both nations enriched themſelves very much upon ſuch depredations, and how much ſoever the royal navy was weakened every day, the number of the men of war wonderfully increaſed, ſo that thoſe kind of ſhips of England, Scotland, and Ireland, covered the whole ocean; and of thoſe ſhips which were taken and carried into Scotland or Ireland (in England there were many re-deliveries)

veries) it was obſerved that there were 'veſtigia nulla retrorſum:' Even Sweden itſelf, with whom a new ſtricter alliance was entered into at that time, with as ſevere reſtrictions to that licenſe of the men of war, as could be contrived for the liberty and ſecurity of the trade of that crown, complained exceedingly of the violation of all thoſe conceſſions and proviſions, and that their ſhips were every day taken and plundered; and this univerſal complaint begun to awaken all princes to a jealouſy, that the Engliſh endeavoured to reſtrain all trade, till they could make themſelves the intire maſters of it, and, by their naval power, put ſome impoſition upon the whole traffick of Europe.

It is very true, at the firſt entrance into the war, there had been many unſkilful expreſſions, even in the parliament itſelf, as well as in the frequent diſcourſes of parliament-men, that by this war, and by ſuppreſſing the power of the Dutch at ſea, (of which they made not the leaſt doubt) the king would be able to give the law to all the trade of the world, and that no ſhips ſhould paſs the ſea without paying tribute to England; which liberty and raſhneſs of diſcourſe made a great impreſſion upon thoſe, who wiſhed miſchief enough to the Dutch, till they could ſee what danger might enſue to themſelves by the ſucceſs of England, and thereupon wiſhed that they might break themſelves upon each other, without much advantage to either Party. And this general diſtemper and complaint made the deeper impreſſion upon the king, by his diſcerning an extreme difficulty, if not an impoſſibility, to give any juſt remedy to it, and conſequently that he ſhould be ſhortly looked upon as a common enemy. He had taken very great pains, upon deliberate conſultations, to ſuppreſs that odious irregularity and deſtructive licenſe that was practiſed,

practiſed amongſt the ſeamen, and had in many particular caſes himſelf examined the exceſs, and cauſed exemplary juſtice to be done upon the offenders, and reſtitution to be made of what had been taken, at leaſt of what was left; for no juſtice could preſerve the injured perſons from being loſers. He had granted ſuch rules and privileges and protection to the ports in Flanders, and to others of his allies, as themſelves deſired, and looked upon as full ſecurity: but then he quickly found, that from thoſe very ports, and in thoſe very ſhips which enjoyed thoſe privileges, the trade of the Dutch was driven on; ſo that it was evident that, by that liberty which other nations thought themſelves in juſtice entitled to, if not reſtrained, the Hollanders themſelves would be eaſily able to carry on their whole trade, in the ſhips of Flanders, Hamburgh, and the other free towns, or in their own ſhips owned by the others; and that the reſtraint would likewiſe be impoſſible, without a total ſuppreſſion of the men of war, and a revocation of all the commiſſions granted to them, or any of them, which would likewiſe be attended with the freedom and ſecurity of trade to all his majeſty's enemies. In the laſt encounter at ſea, the Prince Royal and three others of his majeſty's navy had been loſt, and another, the London, had been burned in the river, by the negligence of the ſeamen; for there was never any diſcovery made that there was any purpoſe or malice in it.

The French had obliged themſelves, that the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, ſhould, with the whole fleet under his command, amounting to eighteen good ſhips, join with the Dutch; and the king of Denmark was likewiſe engaged to ſend all his great ſhips, which were ten or a dozen, in order to the like conjunction; ſo that it was evident

evident to his majeſty, that the enemy would be much ſuperior to him in ſtrength and power, though he had been able to have manned and ſet out all his royal navy, which he well foreſaw he ſhould not be able to do, both for want of money, as they were already in great diſorder and mutiny for their pay, of which there was indeed a great arrear due to them; and, what was worſe, there was grown ſuch an animoſity amongſt the principal officers of the fleet, between themſelves, that the whole diſcipline was corrupted; ſo that it was hard to reſolve into what hands to put the government thereof, if it could have been made ready. Upon which, and the whole ſtate of affairs, and upon deliberation and frequent conſultation with the principal officers of the ſea, and ſuch others, whoſe experience in ſuch matters rendered them moſt capable to give advice, the king found it moſt counſellable to reſolve to make a defenſive war the next year, to lay up all his great ſhips, and to have ſome ſquadrons of the lighter veſſels, to continue in ſeveral quarters aſſigned to them, which ſhould be ready to take all advantages which ſhould be offered; and that there ſhould be likewiſe ready in the river another good ſquadron of ſhips, againſt the end of the ſummer, which being ready to join with thoſe that lay out, when the enemy was weary, and their ſhips foul, would be able to take many notable advantages upon them, of which they who adviſed it were ſo confident, that they did believe this defenſive war thus ordered and proſecuted, would prove a greater damage to the enemy in their trade and all other reſpects, than they had ever undergone: and in all this counſel and reſolution, the chancellor had no other part than being preſent, and not underſtanding the ſubject-matter of the

debate, could not be able to anſwer any of the reaſons that had been alledged.

Theſe conſiderations, upon a full ſurvey of his ill condition at home and abroad, induced the king to wiſh that there was a good end of the war, of which inclination his majeſty vouchſafed to inform the chancellor, well knowing that he would be very glad to contribute all he could to it, as the thing he deſired moſt in this world, and which he thought would prove the greateſt benefit to the king and kingdom; and his majeſty told him, that he found all thoſe who had been moſt forward and impatient to enter into this war, were now weary of it, and would be glad of a peace; ſo that there remained now nothing more to do, than for for his majeſty to adviſe with thoſe whom he thought fit (for there ſeemed many reaſons to conceal both the inclinations to peace, and the reſolution not to ſet out a ſummer-fleet from being publickly known) what method to obſerve, and what expedients to make uſe of, for the better procuring this wiſhed-for peace, without appearing to be too ſollicitous or importunate for it, or ſo weary of the war as in truth he was: and to this conſultation the king was pleaſed to call, together with his royal brother, prince Rupert, the chancellor, the lord treaſurer, and thoſe other honourable perſons, with whom he uſed to adviſe in his moſt ſecret and moſt important affairs.

That which occurred firſt to conſider was, whether there were any hopes to divide the French from the Dutch, upon which ſuppoſition the proſpect was not unpleaſant, the war with one of them being hopefully enough to be purſued, the conjunction was only formidable; and to this purpoſe ſeveral attempts had been made both in France and in Holland, both ſides being equally reſolved not to ſeparate from each

each other, till a joint peace ſhould be made with England, though they both owned a jealouſy of each other, thoſe of Holland having a terrible apprehenſion and foreſight upon the king of France's deſigns upon Flanders, which would make his greatneſs too near a neighbour to their territories; beſides, that the logick of his demands upon the devolution, and nullity of the treaty upon the marriage, was equally applicable to their whole intereſt, as it was to their demands from the king of Spain; and France, upon all the attacks they had made, both in France with the Dutch embaſſador there, and in Holland by their own embaſſador, found clearly that they were to expect no aſſiſtance from the Dutch in their deſigns, and that at leaſt, they wiſhed to put an end to their ſo ſtrict alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable advantage, except in weakening an ally, from whom they might probably receive much more advantage. However, neither the one, or the other, would be induced to enter into any treaty apart, though they both ſeemed willing and deſirous of a peace, in order to which, the Dutch, through the Swede's embaſſador's hands, had wrote to the king to offer a treaty in any ſuch neutral place as his majeſty ſhould make choice of, profeſſing that they ſhould make no ſcruple of ſending their embaſſadors directly to his majeſty, but that their conjunction with the other two crowns, who required a neutral place, would not admit that condeſcenſion; and, at the ſame time, they intimated to the Swede's embaſſadors, that the king of France would not ſend his embaſſadors into Flanders, or any place of the king of Spain's dominions; and therefore wiſhed that his majeſty would make choice of Duſſeldorp, Cologn, Frankfort, or Hamburgh, or any other place, that his majeſty ſhould think more convenient than the other under that ex-

ception; all which places, and in truth any other, out of the king of Spain's dominions, were at ſuch a diſtance (the winter being now near over) that there could be no reaſonable expectation of the fruit of the treaty in time, to prevent more acts of hoſtility.

How the treaty came afterwards to be introduced by overtures from France, and what preliminaries were firſt propoſed from thence by the earl of St. Alban's, and how agreed to by his majeſty, how the place of the treaty came to be adjuſted, the embaſſadors choſen, and the whole progreſs thereupon, and the publication of the articles of the peace, is ſo particularly ſet forth in this narrative before, that it needed not to be repeated here; and one of the embaſſadors repairing (as is there ſaid) to the king, and giving him an account of all that had paſſed, before any thing was concluded, and every particular having been debated at the council-board, and conſented to, he ſaid he could not underſtand how his majeſty could be deluded or betrayed in that treaty, which paſſed with ſuch a full examination and diſquiſition, and in all which debates his majeſty himſelf had taken the pains to diſcourſe more, and to enlarge in the anſwer to all objections which were foreſeen, than he had been ever known to have done upon any other article. It is very true, that the chancellor had been commanded by the king to write moſt of the letters which had been ſent to the earl of St. Alban's from the time of his going over concerning the treaty, his lordſhip having likewiſe directed moſt of his letters to him, and moſt of the diſpatches to the embaſſadors were likewiſe prepared by him, they being, by their inſtructions (without his deſire or privity) to tranſmit all accounts to one of the ſecretaries or to himſelf; but he ſaid it was as true, that he never received

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letters from either of them; but it was read intirely in his majeſty's preſence to thoſe lords of the council, who were aſſigned for that ſervice, where directions were given what anſwer ſhould be returned, and he never did return any anſwer to either of them, without having firſt read it to the council, or having firſt ſent it to one of the ſecretaries to be read to his majeſty, and he did with a very good conſcience to proteſt to all the world, that he never did the leaſt thing, or gave the leaſt advice relating to the war, or relating to the peace, which he would not have done, if he had been to expire the next minute, and to have given an account thereof to God Almighty; and as his majeſty prudently, piouſly, and paſſionately deſired to put an end to that war, ſo no man appeared more delighted with the peace when it was concluded, that his majeſty himſelf did, though, he ſaid, as far as he could make any judgment of public affairs, the publication of that peace was attended with the moſt univerſal joy and acclamation of the whole nation, that can be imagined, nor is it eaſy to forget the general conſternation that the city and people of all conditions were in, when the Dutch came into the river as high as Chatham; and when the diſtemper in the court itſelf was ſo great, that many perſons of quality and title in the galleries and privy lodgings very indecently every day vented their paſſions in bitter execrations againſt thoſe who had firſt council'd and brought on the war, and wiſhing that an end were put to it by any peace; ſome of which perſons, within very days after as bitterly inveighed againſt the peace itſelf, and againſt the promoters of it; but he ſaid he was yet ſo far from repenting or being aſhamed of the part he had in it; that he looked upon it as a great honour, that the laſt ſervice he performed for his majeſty

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was the ſealing the proclamations, and other inſtructions for the concluſion and perfection of that peace, the great ſeal of England being that very day ſent for and taken from him.

The ſeventeenth and laſt article was, that he was a principal author of that fatal council of dividing the fleet, about June, 1666.

In anſwer to this, he ſet down at large, an account of all the agitation that was in council upon that affair, and that the dividing and ſeparation of the fleet at that time, was by the election and advice of the two generals, and not by the order or direction of the council; all which hath been at large, in that part of this diſcourſe which relates the tranſactions of that time, ſet down, and therefore needs not to be again inſerted. He took notice of the prejudice that might befal him in the opinion of all good men, by his abſenting himſelf, and thereby declining the full examination and trial which the public juſtice would have allowed him, which obliged him to ſet down all the particulars which paſſed from the taking the ſeal from him, the meſſages he had received from the biſhop of Hereford, and, finally, the advice and command the biſhop of Wincheſter brought him from the duke of York, with the approbation of the king: upon all which, and the great diſtemper that appeared in the two houſes at that time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, he did hope that all diſpaſſioned men would believe that he had not deſerted and betrayed his own innocence; but, on the contrary, that he had complied with that obligation and duty, which

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he had always paid to his majeſty's ſervice, in chuſing, at that time, to ſacrifice his own honour to the leaſt intimation of his majeſty's pleaſure, and when leaſt inconvenience might have befallen it by his obſtinacy, though in his own defence, and concluded, that though his enemies, who had by all the evil arts imaginable contrived his deſtruction, had yet the power and credit to infuſe into his majeſty's ears ſtories of words ſpoken, and things done by him; of all which he was as innocent as he was at the time of his birth, and other jealouſies of a nature ſo odious, that themſelves had not the confidence publicly to own, yet he ſaid, notwithſtanding all thoſe diſadvantages for the preſent, he did not deſpair, but that his majeſty, in his goodneſs and juſtice, might in due time diſcover the foul artifices which had been uſed to gain credit with him, and would reflect graciouſly upon ſome poor ſervices (how over-rewarded ſoever) heretofore performed by him, the memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the baniſhing him out of his country, and forcing him to ſeek his bread in foreign parts at this age, is a very ſevere judgment. However, he was confident, that poſterity will clearly diſcern his innocence and integrity in all thoſe particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciouſly laid to his charge by men who did nothing before, or have done any thing ſince, that will make them be thought to be wiſe or honeſt men, and will believe his misfortunes to have been much greater than his faults.

As ſoon as he had digeſted and tranſmitted this his anſwer and vindication to his children, which he did in a ſhort time after his arrival at Montpellier, he appeared to all men who converſed with him, to be intirely poſſeſſedof ſo much tranquil-

tranquillity of mind, and ſo unconcerned in all that had been done to him or ſaid of him, that men believed the temper to be affected with much art, and could not be natural in a man, who was known to have ſo great an affection for his own country, the air and climate thereof, and to take ſo much delight and pleaſure in his relations, from whom he was now baniſhed, and at ſuch a diſtance, that he could not wiſh that they ſhould undergo the inconvenience in many reſpects, which were like to attend the making him many viſits; but when there was viſibly always in him ſuch a vivacity and chearfulneſs as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon ſuch ill news as came every week out of England, of the improvement of the power and inſolence of his enemies, all men concluded that he had ſomewhat about him above a good conſtitution, and proſecuted him with all the offices of civility and reſpect they could manifeſt towards a ſtranger. There were two inconveniences which he foreſaw might happen, and could not but diſcompoſe the ſerenity of his mind: the firſt, and that which gave him the leaſt apprehenſion, though he could not avoid thinking of it, nor the trouble of thoſe thoughts which could not be ſeparated from it, was he ſhould not be able to draw as much money out of England, as would ſupport his expence, which though huſbanded with as much frugality as could be uſed with any decency, he foreſaw would amount to a greater proportion than he had propoſed to himſelf, his indiſpoſition and infirmity, which either kept him under the natural and ſharp viſitation of the gout, or when the vigour of that was abated, in much weakneſs of his limbs when the pain was gone, that he could not be without the attendance of four ſervants about

about his own perſon, having in thoſe ſeaſons, when he enjoyed moſt health, and underwent leaſt pain, his knees, legs, and feet ſo weak, that he could not walk, eſpecially up or down ſtairs, without the help of two men; and when he was ſeized upon by the gout, they were not able to perform the office of watching, ſo that to the Engliſh ſervants, which he brought with him, which, with a cook and a maid to waſh his linnen, amounted to ſix or ſeven, he was compelled to take four or five French ſervants for the market, and other offices of the houſe, and his lodging coſt him above two hundred piſtoles; but all the apprehenſions of this kind were, upon ſhort reflections, compoſed in the aſſurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, who, he believed, out of his and their own eſtate, would raiſe enough for his unavoidable diſburſements. The other apprehenſion ſtuck cloſer to him, and made him even tremble in the very reflection: he could not forget the treatment he had between Calais and Rohan, and the ſtrange violent importunity that was uſed to him to get out of the kingdom, when he had not ſtrength to get out of his bed; and though he was now at eaſe from ſuch inhuman preſſures, yet his enemies, who had even extorted that importunity from a people not inclined to ſuch incivilities, had ſtill the ſame power, and the ſame malice, and a froppiſh kind of inſolence that delighted to deprive him of any thing that pleaſed him, and manifeſtly pleaſed itſelf in vexing him; and, if they ſhould again prevail with the ſame miniſters to remove him from his quiet, and oblige him to new journeys, the ſame ſpirit would chaſe him from place to place, there being none in view like to be ſuperior to their influence, when France had been ſubdued by it, ſo that, beſides

the impoſſibility of preſerving the peace and repoſe of his mind in ſo grievous a fatigue, and continual torture of his body, he ſaw no hope of reſt but in his grave; and againſt this kind of tyranny, he could by no reaſonable diſcourſe with himſelf, provide any ſecurity or ſtock of courage to ſupport it. His friend the Abbot Montagu, who was the only advocate he had to that court, uſed all his powerful rhetoric to allay thoſe fears, and to comfort him againſt thoſe melancholic apprehenſions, by aſſuring him, that the miniſters were far from ſuch inclinations, and that nothing but reaſons of ſtate could diſpoſe them to that ſeverity, yet he prepared him not to think of removing from Montpellier, without firſt acquainting the court with it; and, when afterwards he propoſed to him that he might have leave to reſide in Orleans, or ſome other city, at ſuch a nearer diſtance from England, that his children or friends might more eaſily repair to him, but the court did not like the propoſition, but propoſed Molins, whither they would not yet give him a paſs, till firſt their embaſſador in England ſhould know that it would not be unacceptable to his majeſty, ſo that he found himſelf upon the matter not only baniſhed from his country, but confined to Montpellier, without any aſſurance that he ſhould not be again ſhortly baniſhed from thence. However, after he had revolved all the expedients that occurred to him for the prevention of ſuch a miſchief, he concluded there was no other remedy to be applied to thoſe contingencies, than in acquieſcing, in the good pleaſure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no diſcretion or foreſight of his own could prevent; and in this compoſure of mind he betook himſelf to his books, and to the entertainment and exerciſe of ſuch

thoughts

thoughts as were moſt like to divert him from others, which would be more unpleaſant.

God bleſſed him very much in this compoſure and retreat, and the firſt conſolation he adminiſtered to himſelf was, from the reflection upon the wonderful and unuſual proceedings, and proſecution that had been againſt him in another kind of manner, and after another meaſure, than uſed to be practiſed by the moſt bitter enemies, and than was neceſſary to their ends and advantages, who had contrived them, not to mention the malice and injuſtice of their firſt deſign of removing him from the truſt and credit he had with the king, and to alienate his majeſty's affection and kindneſs from him; to which the corrupt hopes and expectation of benefit to themſelves might incline them, and then ſuch unrighteous ends cannot naturally be proſecuted but by as unrighteous means, when they were not only privy to, but contrivers of his eſcape, which they looked upon as attended with more benefit to them, than his impriſonment, or the taking his life could have been. When they were ſecure of his abſence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the bill of baniſhment, by which they broke their faith and promiſes to the king, and made him depart from his own reſolutions, to what purpoſe was all their other proſecution of him both at home and abroad, more deragatory to the king's honour, and that innate goodneſs of nature and clemency that all men know he abounds in, than miſchievous to him? Why muſt he be abſurdly charged with councils and actions of which he could never be ſuſpected, and why muſt his name be ſtruck out of all books of council, and catalogues and liſts of ſervants that it might not appear that he had ever been a counſellor of ſtate, or a magi-

ſtrate of juſtice, a method that was never practiſed towards the greateſt malefactor? To what worthy or neceſſary end could that exorbitant demand be made and purſued in France, to expoſe him and the honour of that crown to the general reproach of all men with ſuch unparallel'd circumſtances? Theſe very extraordinary attempts, and unheard-of devices ſeemed to all wiſe men, but the laſt effort of vulgar ſpirited perſons, and the faint graſping of impotent malice, and inſtead of depreſſing the ſpirits of him they hated, raiſed his confidence that God would not permit ſuch groſs inventions of very ill and ſhort-ſighted men to triumph in the ruin of an honeſt man, whoſe heart was always fixed upon his protection, and whom he had ſo often preſerved from more powerful ſtratagems, and he did realy believe that the divine juſtice would at ſome time expoſe the pride and ambition of thoſe men to the infamy they deſerved.

To thoſe perſons, with whom he did with the moſt freedom communicate, he did often profeſs that upon the ſtricteſt inquiſition he could make into all his actions from the time of the king's return, when his condition was generally thought to have been very proſperous, though at beſt it was exerciſed with many thorns, which made it uneaſy, he could not reflect upon any one thing he had done, amongſt many which he doubted not were juſtly liable to the reproach of weakneſs and vanity, of which he was ſo much aſhamed, as he was of the vaſt expence he had made in the building of his houſe, which had more contributed to that guſt of envy that had too violently ſhaken him, than any miſdemeanor that he was thought to have been guilty of, by which he had infinitely diſcompoſed his whole affairs, and broken his eſtate; for all which he had no other excuſe

to

to make, than that he was neceſſitated to quit the habitation he was in at Worceſter-houſe, which the owner required, and for which he had always paid five hundred pounds yearly rent, and could not find any convenient houſe to live in, except he built one himſelf, to which he was naturally too much inclined; and that he had ſo much encouragement thereunto from the king himſelf, that his majeſty vouchſafed to appoint the place upon which it ſhould ſtand, and graciouſly to beſtow the inheritance of the land upon him after a ſhort term of years, which he purchaſed from the preſent poſſeſſor: which approbation and bounty of his majeſty was his greateſt encouragement, and his own unſkilfulneſs in architecture, and the poſitive undertaking of a gentleman who had ſkill enough, and a good reward for his ſkill, that the expence ſhould not amount to a third part of what in truth it afterwards amounted to, which he could without eminent inconvenience have diſburſed, involved him in that raſh enterprize that proved ſo fatal and miſchievous to him, not only in the accumulation of envy and prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the intanglement of a great debt that broke all his meaſures, and under the weight of his ſudden and unexpected misfortune made his condition very uneaſy, and near inſupportable; and this he took all occaſions to confeſs, and to reproach himſelf with the folly of it; and yet when his children and his neareſt friends propoſed and adviſed the ſale of it in his baniſhment for the payment of his debts, and making ſome proviſion for two younger children, he remained ſtill ſo much infatuated with the delight he had enjoyed, that tho' he was deprived of it, he hearkened very unwillingly to the advice, and expreſly refuſed to approve it, until ſuch a ſum ſhould be offered for it, as held ſome proportion

portion to the money he laid out, and could not conceal ſome confidence he had, that he ſhould live to be reſtored to it, and to be vindicated from the brand he ſuffered under, except his particular compleat ruin were involved in the general diſtraction and confuſion of his country; of which he had a more ſenſible and ſerious apprehenſion.

He was wont to ſay that of the infinite bleſſings which God had vouchſafed to confer upon him almoſt from his cradle; amongſt which he delighted in the reckoning up many ſignal inſtances, he eſteem'd himſelf ſo happy in none, as in his three acquieſcences, which he called his three vacations and retreats he had in his life enjoyed from buſineſs of trouble and vexation, and in every of which God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions, and his obſervations upon what he had done himſelf, and what he had ſeen others do and ſuffer, to repair the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himſelf with new reſolutions againſt future encounters, in an intire reſignation of all his thoughts and purpoſes into the diſpoſal of God Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he ſhould be obliged to contend with, and towards the obtaining whereof he renewed thoſe vows and promiſes of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of that protection and deliverance. The firſt of theſe receſſes and acquieſcences was, his remaining and reſiding in Jerſey, when the prince of Wales, his now majeſty, went into France upon the command of the queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of the council the king his father had directed him to govern himſelf by, and as they conceived, contrary to his majeſty's own judgment, the knowing whereof they only

only waited for; and his ſtay there during that time that his highneſs firſt remained at Paris and St. Germain, until his expedition afterwards to the fleet and in the Downs. His ſecond was, when he was ſent by his majeſty as his embaſſador, together with the lord Cottington, into Spain, in which two full years were ſpent before he waited upon the king again; and the third was his laſt receſs by the diſgrace he underwent, and by the act of baniſhment: in which three acquieſcencies, he had learned more, knew himſelf and other men much better, and ſerved God and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life.

He uſed to ſay, that he ſpent too much of his younger years in company and converſation, and too little with books, which was in ſome degree repaired by the greateſt part of his converſation being with perſons of very eminent parts, of learning and virtue, and never with men of looſe and debauched manners; and he took great pleaſure frequently to remember and mention the names of thoſe with whom he kept moſt company, when he firſt entered into the world, many whereof lived to be very eminent in church and ſtate, to whoſe information and example, and to the affection, awe, and reverence he had to their perſons, he did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable to him; he did very much affect to be loved and eſteemed amongſt men of good name and reputation, which made him warily avoid the company of looſe and diſſolute men, and to preſerve himſelf from any notable ſcandal of any kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *caſtè*, nor was the converſation he lived in liable to any other exception, than that it was with men

ſuperio

ſuperior to him in their qualities and their fortunes, which expoſed him to greater expence than his fortune would warrant; and yet it pleaſed God to preſerve him from ever undergoing any reproach or inconvenience. He accuſed himſelf of entring too ſoon out of a life of eaſe and pleaſure, and too much idleneſs, into a life of too much buſineſs, that required more labour and experience, and knowledge, than he was ſupplied for; for he put on his gown as ſoon as he was called to the bar, and by the countenance of perſons in place and authority, as ſoon engaged himſelf in the buſineſs of his profeſſion as he put on his gown, and to that degree in practice, that gave little time for ſtudy, that he had too much neglected before, beſides, that he ſtill indulged to his beloved converſation.

Few years paſſed before the troubles in Scotland appeared, and the little parliament was convened, which being diſſolved, and preſently a new one called, he was a member in both, and wholly gave himſelf up to the public affairs agitated there, and where he was enough eſteemed and employed, till the ſpirit reigned there, and drove men of his principles from thence. He was entirely and without reſerve truſted with two other of his friends in all the king's affairs which related to the parliament before the rebellion appeared, which brought him into prejudice and jealouſy with many of both houſes, who before were very kind to him; and, in the beginning of the rebellion, he was ſworn of the privy-council, and made chancellor of the Exchequer; and from this time the pains he took, and the great fatigue he underwent, was notorious to all men, inſomuch as the refreſhment of dinner excepted, for he never ſupped, he had very little of the day, and not much of the night

vacant

vacant from the moſt important buſineſs. When the prince was ſeparated from his father, the king commanded him to attend his highneſs into the weſt under more than a common truſt, and by the inequality of humours amongſt the counſellors, and the wants and neceſſities of the prince's little court and family, the want of wiſdom in his governor, that made him want that reſpect from the prince and all other people that was due to him, the faction amongſt all the country gentlemen, and above all, the ill ſucceſs in the king's affairs, and the prevalence of the parliament in all places, made the province he had very uncomfortable and uneaſy. The unavoidable neceſſity of tranſporting the perſon of the prince out of the kingdom, which was intruſted only to four of the council by the king, and by his command reſerved from his governor and another, when there ſhould be apparent danger of his falling into the hands of the rebels, and they as neceſſary defending it till that danger was even in view, and the deſigns of ſome of the prince's ſervants with the country to obſtruct and prevent it when it was in view, the executing it in a ſeaſonable article of time before, or in the moment that it was ſuſpected, and diſguiſing it by a retreat to Scilly, and ſtaying there till they could be provided for a further voyage, and then the prince's remove from thence to Jerſey, the conteſts which happened there between the counſellors upon the queen's command for his highneſs's preſent repair into France, her majeſty's declared diſpleaſure, and the perſonal animoſities which grew from thence between the perſons in the greateſt truſt, were all particulars of that weight and diſtraction, that made a great impreſſion upon his mind and

faculties, which needed much reflection and contemplation to compoſe them.

This firſt retreat gave him opportunity and leiſure to call himſelf to a ſtrict account for whatſoever he had done upon revolving all his particular actions, and the behaviour of other men, and to compoſe thoſe affections, and allay thoſe paſſions, which in the warmth of perpetual actions, and chafed by continual contradictions, had need of reſt, and cold and deliberate cogitations. He had now time to mend his underſtanding, and to correct the defects and infirmities of his nature, by the obſervation of and reflection upon the grounds and ſucceſſes of thoſe councils he had been privy to, upon the ſeveral tempers and diſtempers of men employed both in the martial and civil affairs of the greateſt importance, and upon the experience he had, and the obſervation he had made in the three or four laſt years, where the part he had acted himſelf differed ſo much from all the former tranſactions and commerce of his life. He had originally in his nature ſo great a tenderneſs and love towards mankind, that he did not only deteſt all calumniating and detraction towards the leſſening the credit, or parts, or reputation of any man, but did really believe, that all men were ſuch as they ſeemed or appeared to be, that they had the ſame juſtice and candour, and goodneſs in their nature, that they profeſſed to have, and thought no men to be wicked and diſhoneſt, and corrupt, but thoſe who in their manners and lives gave unqueſtionable evidence of it, and even amongſt thoſe he did think moſt to err, and do amiſs rather out of weakneſs and ignorance, for want of friends and good counſel, than out of the malice and wickedneſs of their natures.

tures: but now, upon the obſervation and experience he had in the parliament (and he believed he could have made the diſcovery no where elſe, without doubt not ſo ſoon) reformed all thoſe miſtakes, and mended that eaſineſs of his underſtanding; he had ſeen thoſe there, upon whoſe ingenuity and probity he would willingly have depoſited all his concernments of this world, behave themſelves with that ſignal uningenuity and improbity, that muſt pull up all confidence by the roots, and men of the moſt unſuſpected integrity, and of the greateſt eminence for their piety and devotion, moſt induſtrious to impoſe upon, and to cozen men of weaker parts and underſtanding, upon the credit of their ſincerity, to concur with them in miſchievous opinions, which they did not comprehend, and which conduced to diſhoneſt actions they did not intend. He ſaw the moſt bloody and inhuman rebellion contrived by them, who were generally believed to be the moſt ſollicitous and zealous for the peace and proſperity of the kingdom, with ſuch art and ſubtilty, and ſo great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe, that ſuch ſanctified perſons could entertain any but holy purpoſes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the moſt impious deſigns, and reputation of honeſty, a ſtratagem to deceive and cheat others, who had no mind to be wicked; the court, as full of murmuring, ingratitude, and treachery, as willing and ready to rebel againſt the beſt and moſt bountiful maſter in the world, as the country and the city: a barbarous and bloody fierceneſs and ſavageneſs had extinguiſhed all relations, hardened the hearts and bowels of all men, and a univerſal malice and animoſity had even covered the moſt innocent and beſt-natured people and nation upon the

earth. These unavoidable reflections first made him discern how weak and foolish all his former imaginations had been, and how blind a surveyor he had been of the inclinations and affections of the heart of man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the dependance must be upon any thing in this world, where whatsoever is good and desirable, suddenly perisheth, and nothing is lasting but the folly and wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. In this first vacation he had leisure to read many learned and pious books, and here he begun to compose his meditations upon the psalms, by applying those devotions to the present afflictions and calamities of his king and country; he began now by the especial encouragement of the king, who was then a prisoner in the army, to write the history of the late rebellion and civil wars, and finished the first four books thereof, and made an entry upon some exercises of devotion, which he lived to enlarge afterwards.

When he had enjoyed in that pleasant island of Jersey full two years in as great serenity of mind, as the separation from country, wife, and children can be imagined to admit, he received a command from the queen then at St. Germain, and an express order from the king, upon which the other had been sent, his majesty being then prisoner in the isle of Wight, that he should forthwith attend the person of the prince of Wales, who, upon the revolt of the ships under the command of the parliament in the Downs, and their profession of obedience to the king, was advised to make all possible haste to them, and the chancellor was required to wait upon his highness at Rohan, upon a day assigned, which was passed before the orders came to him; and though, without any delay, he used all possible diligence to find

find the prince, who with greater expedition, without coming to Rohan, paſſed to Calais; and from thence to Holland to poſſeſs the ſhips which he found there, and poſſeſſed with all that alacrity, which is always very loud, that ſeamen can expreſs, and by the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange got more victuals quickly on board, that he might be in the Downs with the fleet, to ſecond ſome attempt, which was already on foot in Kent, and others expected in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and the chancellor having, in his way, called upon the lord Cottington at Rohan, and together with him, and ſome other perſons of honour and quality, made what haſte they could to Dieppe, that they might there embark for any place, where they ſhould hear the prince to be there, and where they were informed that his highneſs was at the Brill in Holland, and thereupon they put themſelves on board a French man of war, and upon the ſea were taken priſoners by Oſtenders, who upon the advantage of being in the ſhip of an enemy, concluded them to be lawful prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the circumſtances of barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of money and jewels of great value, and ſtripp'd moſt of their ſervants to their ſhirts, they carried them in great triumph to Oſtend, where, though their perſons were uſed with civility and reſpect, and preſently ſet at liberty, yet they were compelled to ſtay there many days in hope to obtain the jewels and money of which they had been robb'd, and finding that not to be done, thoſe privateers being ſubject to no diſcipline, nor regarding the orders of the admiralty, or any other governor, to make ſuch proviſion as was neceſſary for a further voyage; and at laſt they got from Oſtend to Fluſhing, having found means to inform the prince of their miſadventures, and of their readineſs at Fluſhing, to

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receive and obey his commands. The fleet was then in the Downs in ſo good a poſture by the acceſs of other ſhips and veſſels to it, and by ſome notable commotions on land, that the proſpect was fair and hopeful, and the prince received the advertiſement no ſooner, than he was pleaſed to ſend a frigate to Fluſhing for thoſe who had been long expected; but the winds proved then too croſs and tempeſtuous in the gentleſt ſeaſon of the year, that after ſeveral attempts at ſea, they were ſo often driven back again into the harbour, ſometimes by very dangerous ſtorms, that in the end they received new directions to attend the prince at the Hague, the fleet being at the ſame time under ſail for that coaſt: the earl of Lauderdale was at that time come to the fleet as commiſſioner from the kingdom of Scotland, to inform the prince, that duke Hamilton with a powerful army was already marched into England, and thereupon to invite his highneſs to make what haſte he could to put himſelf into the head of that army, according to a promiſe the king had made in ſome private treaty with the Scots, and which the queen had ſent very poſitive commands to be obſerved and obeyed. This was the reaſon, not without other more reaſonable motives, ſo ſuddenly to quit the Downs, that he might get more victuals for the fleet, and therewith ſail to the North, and diſembark in ſuch a place as ſhould be neareſt to the Scotch army, with which he doubted not to find a very conſiderable conjunction of the Engliſh, ſince he knew that Sir Marmaduke Langdale had poſſeſſed himſelf with a body of Engliſh officers and gentlemen of Berwick, and Sir Philip Muſgrave had done the ſame with the like aſſiſtance at Carliſle, before the Scotch begun their march.

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The lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague the next day after the prince's arrival, and were very graciouſly received by his highneſs, and with a wonderful kindneſs by all the court; and all the gentlemen who had attended upon him, not ſo much out of affection to them as out of deteſtation of one another, who had kept company for the ſpace of two months laſt paſt. The prince had found the common ſeamen full of ſuch a keen devotion for his ſervice, upon the true principles of the cauſe, and for the redemption of the king his father out of priſon, and ſo full of indignation againſt thoſe who had formerly miſled them into rebellion, eſpecially the preſbyterians, that as they had, before the declaration, ſet all thoſe officers on ſhore by force, who were appointed by the parliament to command them, ſo now they thought the new ones, which they had choſen for themſelves, not fierce and reſolute enough for their purpoſes.

The truth is, there had been much unſkilful tampering amongſt them by emiſſaries from Paris and other attempts; and the duke of York having made his eſcape a very little time before, and being then at the Hague, when the fleet came to Helvoetſluys upon the firſt notice, loſt no time in making haſte to them. It was generally known, that the king his father had long deſigned to make him high-admiral of England, and that the commiſſion which had been formerly granted to the earl of Northumberland, and which they all knew, ſhould be repealed and cancelled; ſo that he no ſooner came to the fleet but he was received with the uſual acclamations of joy, as their admiral, and he as chearfully aſſumed the command; and his ſmall family preſently begun to propagate their

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ſeveral factions and animoſities, with which they abounded, to make ſuch parties amongſt the ſeamen, as might advance their ſeveral pretences, and in this poſture the prince found the fleet, when he came to it, and reſolved to take the command immediately into his own hand, and that the duke ſhould remain at the Hague with his ſiſter till that expedition was over; and ſo he made haſte with the fleet in the Downs, hoping that ſome preſent occaſion would be the beſt expedient to extinguiſh that fire, and compoſe thoſe diſtempers which he diſcerned already to be kindled and raiſed amongſt the ſeamen. The advice and inſtruction which were brought from Paris, was grounded upon the treaty with Scotland, the marching of that army, and the expectation of ſome notable attempt by the preſbyterian party in London, in order to which all addreſs was to be made to that city, and a declaration to be publiſhed to gratify that party. This ſecret was intruſted only to one of the council, and one other, who was to be miniſterial in whatſoever the other directed, and this temper was quickly diſcovered when they came into the Downs by the great care that was taken to give no offence or interruption to the trade of the city, which all men believed would be the beſt means to reduce it. Ships of return, richly laden, were ſuffered quietly to paſs thither, others coming from thence very well freighted, were likewiſe quietly permitted to proſecute their voyage: all which was paſſionately oppoſed by prince Rupert, and all the reſt of the council; and this contradiction was quickly known to the lords of the bedchamber, and others who had no reverence for that council, and were now the more inflamed upon this diviſion of opinion; and the ſeamen likewiſe coming to take notice of it, cried out the prince was betrayed, and grew into ſuch rage

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and fury, that they declared they would throw thoſe overboard who gave the prince ſuch evil counſel. Two or three unproſperous attempts at land, and then the lord Lauderdale's coming thither, and the order thereupon for the fleet to ſail preſently for Holland, for the reaſons aforeſaid, kindled all thoſe ſparks into a bright flame of diſſention ſo univerſal, that there were very few who ſpake with any civility of one another, or without the higheſt animoſity that can be imagined.

This was the diſtracted condition of affairs when the lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague, the council oppoſing whatſoever the other directed by their private whiſpering to the prince in reproach of them, and their public murmurings againſt their perſons for the council they gave, every man endeavouring to incenſe others againſt thoſe who were not affected by him, and this ill-humour increaſed by ſuch a univerſal poverty that very few knew where to find a ſubſiſtance for three months to come, or how to diſpoſe of themſelves. The clamour from the fleet was ſo high for new victuals and for money, that there was apprehenſion juſt enough that they would provide for themſelves by returning to their old ſtation, to which they had both opportunity and invitation by the parliament's having ſent another fleet, and ſuperior in power to them, that were already at anchor in their view, under the command of the earl of Warwick to block them up in that inconvenient harbour. The ſudden news of the total defeat of the Scotch army, and ſhortly after the loſs of Colcheſter, and taking the perſons of ſo many gallant gentlemen, and murthering ſome of them in cold blood, the daily warm conteſts in council,

upon the inſolent behaviour and the unreaſonable demands of the lord Lauderdale, who as peremptorily inſiſted upon the prince's going immediately with the fleet into Scotland, as he had done before the total defeat of duke Hamilton, and without expecting to hear what alteration that fatal change had produced in that kingdom, which was very reaſonable to apprehend, and in truth had at that time really fallen out. Theſe, and many other preſages, made the chancellor quickly find, that, in his two years repoſe in Jerſey, he had not fortified himſelf enough againſt future aſſaults, nor laid in ballaſt to be prepared to ride out the ſtorms and tempeſts that he was like to be engaged in. The preſervation of the fleet was a conſideration that would bear no delay, and was in a ſhort time, tho' with infinite difficulties and conteſts, full of animoſity, reſolved to be by committing the charge of it to prince Rupert, who was to carry it into Ireland, where were many good ports in his majeſty's obedience; but that was no ſooner done, but the horrid murder of the king, and the formed diſſolution of the monarchy there, and erecting and eſtabliſhing the government in that kingdom with a ſeeming general conſent, at leaſt, without any viſible appearance or poſſibility of contradiction or oppoſition.

The faint proclamation of the preſent king in Scotland, under the ſame conditions which they would have impoſed, and with all the circumſtances with which they had proſecuted the rebellion againſt his father; the reſolution what was fit for the young king to undertake in his own perſon, and the diſmal proſpect how all the neighbour princes were ſollicitous not to pay him any ſuch civilities, as might encourage him to expect any thing from them, were all arguments

ments of perplexity and conſternation, to all men who had been moderately verſed in the tranſaction of affairs, and were too many things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together; ſo that the chancellor uſed to ſay, that all the buſineſs he had been converſant in from the beginning to his coming to the Hague, had not adminiſtered half the difficulties and diſconſolation, had not half ſo much diſturbed and diſtracted his underſtanding, and broken his mind, as the next ſix months from that time had done, nor could he ſee any light before him to preſent a way to the king, by entring into which he might hopefully avoid the greateſt miſery that ever prince had been expoſed to. His own particular condition (under ſo general a mortification) afflicted him very little, having long compoſed himſelf by a reſolution with God's bleſſing to do his duty without heſitation, and to leave all the reſt to the diſpoſition of providence.

When the fleet was committed to the government of prince Rupert to embark for Ireland, it was enough foreſeen by thoſe who foreſaw what naturally might fall out, that Ireland was probably like to be the place, whither it might be moſt counſelable for the prince himſelf to repair; but, as it was not then ſeaſonable in many reſpects to publiſh ſuch an imagination, ſo it was not poſſible to keep the fleet where it then was, or in any port of the dominions of Holland, where the ſtates were already perplexed what anſwer they ſhould return, if the new commonwealth ſhould demand the ſhips, or whether they were not obliged to deliver them, and therefore no time was to be loſt, nor was the voyage itſelf like to be ſecure, but by the benefit of the winter ſeaſon, and the unquiet ſeas they were to paſs through, which would have made it too dangerous a voyage for the

perſon of the prince, who muſt find a ſhorter paſſage thither when it ſhould be neceſſary.

When that inhuman impiety was acted at London, and the young king had, in ſome degree, recovered his ſpirits from the ſudden aſtoniſhment, and had received the vile proclamation and propoſitions from Scotland, his majeſty, with thoſe few who were of neareſt truſt, concluded that it would be ſhortly of neceſſity to tranſport himſelf into Ireland, which was to be the higheſt ſecret, that it might be equally unſuſpected in England and in Scotland, that he ſhould incognito, or with a light train, paſs through France to Nants, or ſome other port of Brittany, where two or three ſhips of war, which he could not doubt of obtaining by the favour of his brother the prince of Orange might attend him, and from thence he might with the leaſt hazard embark for the neareſt coaſt of Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond might meet him. This being concluded in that manner, the lord Cottington went in a morning to the king before he was dreſſed, and deſired, that when he was ready, he would give him a private audience in his cloſet. He there told him, that his majeſty had taken the moſt prudent reſolution that his condition would admit, for Ireland, where there remained yet ſome foundation for hope; that for himſelf, he was ſo old and infirm (for to his ſeventy-five years, which was then his age, he had frequent and painful viſitations of the gout and the ſtone) that his majeſty could not expect his perſonal attendance in ſo many journeys by land as he muſt be expoſed to; yet having ſerved the crown throughout the reign of his grandfather and father, he was very deſirous to finiſh his life in his majeſty's ſervice: that he had reflected upon the woful condition his affairs were in, not more by the power of his rebels,

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as by being abandoned by all his neighbour princes: that it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themſelves in his quarrel, ſo that the utmoſt he could hope from them was, that in ſome ſecret manner they might contribute ſuch a ſupply and relief to him, as might give him a ſubſiſtance, till ſome new accidents and alterations at home or abroad might produce a more ſeaſonable conjuncture: that even in that particular, he doubted the magnanimity and generoſity of princes would not be very conſpicuous; however, it being all his preſent dependance, he muſt try all the ways he could to provoke them to that diſpoſition: that he knew the crown of Spain was ſo low at that time, that, whatever their inclinations might be, they could neither ſupply him with ſhips or money towards the raiſing or ſupporting of an army; yet that he knew too, that there is ſuch a proportion of honour, and of a generous compaſſion and bounty, that is inſeparable from that crown, and even runs through that people, which other nations are not inſpired with; and he was confident, that if his majeſty ſent an embaſſador thither, how neceſſitous ſoever that court might be, it would never refuſe to make ſuch an aſſignment of money to him, as might, well huſbanded, provide a decent ſupport for him in Ireland, where likewiſe the king of Spain had power to do his majeſty more offices than any other prince could do, or he any where elſe, by the univerſal influence he had upon the Iriſh nation; and general Owen O'Neale, who was the only man that then obſtructed the union of that people in a ſubmiſſion to the king, had been bred up in the court of Spain, and had ſpent all his time in the ſervice of that crown, and had ſtill his ſole dependance upon it, and therefore it was to be preſumed, that

that he might be induced by direction from Madrid to conform himſelf to a conjunction with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there. He ſaid, that his majeſty knew well that he had ſpent a great part of his life in that court, in the ſervice of his grandfather and father, and he would be willing to end his days there, if it were thought of uſe to his affairs.

The diſcourſe was too reaſonable not to make impreſſion upon the king, which diſcovering in his countenance, the other deſired him, that he would think that day upon all that he had ſaid without communicating it to any body till the next morning, when he would again wait upon him to know his opinion upon the whole; for if his majeſty ſhould approve what he propoſed, he had another particular to offer, before the matter ſhould be publickly debated. When he came the next morning, and found the king much pleaſed with what he had before diſcourſed, and asked what the other particular was that he intended to offer, the lord Cottington told him, that he was very glad his majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with what he had propoſed, which he confeſſed, the more he had revolved himſelf, the more hopeful the ſucceſs appeared to him; which made him the more ſollicitous, that through any inadvertency ſuch a deſign might not miſcarry. He put him then in mind again of his great age, how unlike it was that he ſhould be able to hold out ſuch a journey, or if he did, the fatigue thereof would probably caſt him into a fit of the gout or ſtone, or both; which if he ſhould outlive, he ſhould be long detained from the proſecution of his buſineſs, which the leſs vigorouſly purſued would be more ineffectual; and therefore propoſed that he might have a companion with him of more youth and a ſtronger conſtitution, who would

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receive ſome benefit by the information and advice he ſhould be able to give him, the advantage whereof would redound for the preſent, and might more in the future, to the king's ſerivce; and, in fine, propoſed, that the chancellor of the Exchequer might be joined in the commiſſion with him, and accompany him into Spain, from whence, if they made haſte in their journey, they might make ſuch a progreſs in that court, that he might be able to attend his majeſty in Ireland in a very ſhort time after his arrival there, whilſt himſelf remained ſtill at Madrid to proſecute all further opportunities to advance his ſervice. The king was ſurpriſed with the overture, and asked whether the chancellor would be willing to undertake the employment, and whether he had ſpoken with him of it; to which the other preſently replied, that he knew not, nor had ever ſpoken to him of it, nor would do, till his majeſty if he liked it, ſhould firſt prepare him; for he knew well he would at firſt be ſtartled at it, and it may be might take it unkindly, that he well knew how much the weight of his buſineſs lay upon the chancellor's ſhoulders, and in that reſpect many others would not be willing that he ſhould be abſent, yet that there was a long vacation in view, and there could be little to be done, till the king ſhould come into Ireland, and by that time he might be with him again with ſuch a return from Spain as might be welcome and convenient to him; and therefore, if his majeſty would firſt break the matter to him, he would then take the work upon him, and he believed he ſhould give him ſuch reaſons, ſince he could not ſuſpect his friendſhip, which was very notorious, and they lived then together, as would diſpoſe him to the journey. When the king ſpake to him of it, as a thing that had reſulted from

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his own thoughts, that he had more hope to obtain ſome ſupply from Spain, than from any other place, that no man could be ſo fit to ſollicit it as the lord Cottington, and no body ſo fit to accompany him as he, who might be with him in Ireland in a ſhort time. He ſaid he had ſpoken with lord Cottington to undertake the employment, to which he was not averſe; but he had expreſly refuſed to undertake it alone, and he knew that no companion would be ſo acceptable to him as he would be. The chancellor did not at firſt diſſemble the apprehenſion that this device had been contrived at Paris, where he knew neither of them were acceptable, nor wiſhed to be about the king, or to have ſo much credit with him, as they were both thought to have; but the king quickly expelled that jealouſy: and he deſired a ſhort time to conſider of it, and received (beſides kindneſs in the invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he did not ſubmit only to the king's pleaſure, but very willingly undertook the employment; and though it was afterwards delayed by the importunity of many, and the queen's own advice, who thought the chancellor's attendance about the perſon of the king her ſon to be more uſeful to his ſervice, than it was like to be in the other climate; the king was firm to his purpoſe, and diſpatched him ſhortly after his coming into France, when he reſolved and prepared for his own expedition into Ireland, in order to which there were then ſome Dutch ſhips of war that waited for him at St. Maloes. This was the occaſion and ground of his ſecond retreat and receſs from a very uneaſy condition, of which he was not more weary in reſpect of the difficulty and melancholy of the buſineſs, from which he could not intirely diſentangle himſelf by abſence, than in reſpect of

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the company he was to keep in the conducting it, who had humours and inclinations uneaſy to him, irreſolute in themſelves, and contrary for the moſt part to his judgment; and he did ſtill acknowledge, that he did receive much refreſhment and benefit by that negociation; for tho' the employment proved ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it was intended, by the king's finding it neceſſary to divert his intended journey for Ireland, into that of Scotland, yet he had vacancy to recollect and compoſe his broken thoughts, and mended his underſtanding in the obſervation and experience of another kind of negociation than he had formerly been acquainted with under the aſſiſtance, advice, and friendſhip of the moſt able perſon, and the beſt acquainted with foreign negociations, and the general intereſt of the ſeveral kings and ſtates in Chriſtendom of any ſtateſman then alive in Europe, and who delighted in giving him all the information he could. He was converſant in a court of another nature and humour, of another kind of grandeur and gravity, of another conſtitution and policy, and where embaſſadors are more eſteemed and regarded, and live with more converſation, and a better intelligence among themſelves, than in any other court in the world: the leſs of buſineſs he had, he was the more vacant to ſtudy the language and the manners and the government of that nation, he made a collection of, and read many of the beſt books, which were extant in that language, eſpecially in the hiſtories of their civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtate: upon reading the pontifical hiſtory written by Illieſcas in two volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other volumes, he begun there firſt his animadverſions upon the ſuperiority and ſupremacy of the popes, which he afterwards continued to a perfect work:

here he reſumed the continuation of his devotions on the Pſalms, and other diſcourſes of piety and devotion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leiſure; tho' he underwent in this employment many mortifications of ſeveral kinds, yet he ſtill acknowledged that he learned much during the time of his being in Spain, from whence he returned a little before the battle of Worceſter, and after the king's miraculous eſcape into France, he quickly waited upon his majeſty, and was never ſeparated, from his perſon, till fifteen or ſixteen years after by his baniſhment. This he called his third and moſt bleſſed receſs, in which God vouchſafed to exerciſe many of his mercies towards him; and tho' he entered into it with many very diſconſolate circumſtances, yet, in a ſhort time, upon the recovery of a better ſtate of health, and being remitted into a poſture of eaſe and quietneſs, and ſecure from the power of his enemies, he recovered likewiſe a marvellous tranquility and ſerenity of mind, by making a ſtrict review and recollection into all the actions, all the faults and follies committed by himſelf and others in his laſt continued fatigue of ſeventeen or eighteen years, in which he had received very many ſignal inſtances of God's favour, and in which he had ſo behaved himſelf, that he had the good opinion and friendſhip of thoſe of the beſt fame, reputation and intereſt, and was generally believed to have deſerved very well of the king and kingdom. In all this retirement he was very ſeldom vacant, and then only when he was under ſome ſharp viſitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing ſome animadverſions and exercitations of his own, as appears by the papers and notes which he left: he learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choiceſt books. Now he finiſhed

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the work which his heart was much ſet upon, the hiſtory of the late civil wars and tranſactions to the time of the king's return in the year 1660, of which he gave the king advertiſement: he finiſhed his reflections and devotions upon the Pſalms of David, which he dedicated to his children, which was ended at Montpellier before the death of the ducheſs. He wrote and finiſhed his anſwer to Mr. Hobbs's Leviathan, to which he prefixed an epiſtle dedicatory to the king, if his majeſty would permit it. He wrote a good volume of eſſays, divine, moral, and political, to which he was always adding: he prepared a diſcourſe hiſtorical of the pretence and practice of the ſucceſſive popes, from the beginning of that juriſdiction they aſſume, in which he thought he had fully vindicated the power and authority of kings from that odious uſurpation. He entered upon the forming a method for the diſpoſing the hiſtory of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated, than it hath yet been: he left ſo many papers of ſeveral kinds, and cut out ſo many pieces of work, that a man may conclude, that he never intended to be idle. In a word, he did not only by all poſſible adminiſtrations ſubdue his affections and paſſions to make his mind conformable to his preſent fortune, but did all he could to lay in a ſtock of patience and proviſion that might ſupport him in any future exigence or calamity that might befal him, yet with a chearful expectation, that God will deliver him from that powerful combination which then oppreſſed him.

FINIS.